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N. N. Law

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Ramanand Vidya Bhawan

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The Establishment of the Eastern Cālukya Dynasty of Veṅgī

The 'dear' younger brother of the Cālukya monarch of Bādāmi, Pulakeśin II (610-42 A. D.), Viṣṇuvardhana I, also known as Kubja Viṣṇuvardhana, Viṣamasiddhi, and by various other appellations, is first introduced to us in the Satara grant of Pulakeśin II dated in his eighth regnal year (i. e. 617-18 A. D.) as the *Yuvarāja* and governor of his in the South Mārhāṭhā country. After some time, and with the conquest of the Andhra region in the eastern coast of the Deccan by Pulakeśin II, Viṣṇuvardhana was appointed the viceroy of these newly conquered territories with Piṣṭapura as his seat of government. Later on, he transferred his headquarters from Piṣṭapura to Veṅgī (modern Vegi or Pedda-Vegi, a village about 7 miles north of Ellore). Subsequently he became an independent *Mahārāja* there. There are at least two grants issued by him, viz. the Chipurupalle Plates, dated in the 18th year of his rule, and the Timmapuram Plates, in which he bears the title of *Mahārāja*. He thus became the founder of the long-lived Eastern Cālukya Dynasty of Veṅgī. As Fleet (*Ind. Ant.*, XX, p. 93) well puts it, "The kings of this branch were called distinctively "the lords of Veṅgī" from the territory which for so long a time formed the principal and favourite portion of their dominions.

The records of the later members of the dynasty say over and over that Viṣṇuvardhana ruled at Veṅgī for 18 years. This period of 18 years has been assigned by some scholars, following Fleet, to 615-33 A.D., by some others to 624-41

A.D., and yet by one or two others to 633-50 A.D. This is owing to the fact that the Chipurupalle grant of his "was made on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon, which took place on the full-moon of the month of Śrāvaṇa, being the fifteenth day (of the bright fortnight) of the fourth month in the eighteenth year." There were eclipses of the moon on Śrāvaṇa *Śukla* 15, in the approximate period, on the 7th July, 632 A.D., 27th July, 641 A.D., and 18th July, 650 A.D., amongst some other dates which need not be considered here (*Ind. Ant.*, XX, pp. 3-4).

A few years ago a copper-plate grant of Viṣṇuvardhana's son and successor has been obtained from the Vizagapatam District, and we are told in this connection that, "A copper-plate grant of Pṛthvī-Jayasiṁha-Vallabha I of the Eastern Cālukya family obtained from the Collector of the Vizagapatam District, and issued from Kallūra *vāsaka*, is dated in 13th February, 659 A.D. in the 18th year of the king's reign. Thus the initial year of the king's reign was A.D. 641. His father and predecessor Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana is stated in the records of this dynasty to have had a reign of 18 years. Consequently the starting point of the Eastern Cālukya chronology, commencing with the rule of Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana, the founder of this line would be A.D. 624. This would settle finally the controversy about the date of accession of Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana which had been fixed by Fleet long ago at c. 615 A.D. (*Ind. Ant.* XX, 1891, p. 5) and held the field so long. (*Ancient India*, January, 1949, p. 49).

This at once rules out the last alternative theory, viz., 633-50 A.D., for Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana's rule, since his son came to the throne in 641 A.D.

One of the chief advocates of Fleet's old chronology of 615-33 A. D. for Viṣṇuvardhana, Dr. D. C. Sircar, curtly discards the evidence of the Vizagapatam Plates[1] by referring to a scholar (Dr. N. Venkataramanyya) who though accepts the date 624 A.D. yet does not consider "the problem of the Eastern Cālukya chronology to have been finally solved" because "certain facts militate against it."

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[1] *Classical Age*, published by the Bhāratiya Vidyā Bhavan, p. 252, footnote.

According to Dr. Sircar, Viṣṇuvardhana's rule of 18 years was counted not from his viceroyalty at Veṅgī as the dynastic inscriptions evince, but from his *yauvarāj=ābhiṣeka* in the South Mārhāṭhā region (Satara grant), which took place some time before 617-18 A.D. (just what Fleet postulated long ago in *Ind. Ant.* XX, pp. 5 and 95). But even then, does not his rule of 18 years tend to exceed 633 A.D., the last year attributed to him?

He further states (at p. 252), "according to Kopparam grant that region (*i.e.* Andhra) seems to have been conquered about 630-631 A.D.," and also that (p. 250) Viṣṇuvardhana "accompanied him (i.e., Pulakeśin II) in his expedition against the countries of the east coast about A.D. 631". If Viṣṇuvardhana, who had gone to the eastern coast about 631 A.D., died in 633 A.D., how long then, within these twenty-four months or so, did he act as the viceroy of Piṣṭapura, how long as that of Veṅgī, and for what period did he rule as an independent Mahārāja?

Again, if Pulakeśin II conquered Andhra as late as in 631 A.D., how could he defeat, still further to the south, the Pallava Mahendravarman I who had after a few years of his defeat died about 630 A.D.?

Still again, if the eastern coast was conquered by Pulakeśin in 631 A.D., how could he be described in an earlier record (Lohaner Plates, dated in 630 A.D.) as *Pūrvv=āpar=āmbudhi-nāthaḥ*? Does not this inscription prove that his conquest of the eastern coast was a matter of the past by 630 A.D.?

These and sundry other incongruities and absurdities are bound to crop up with the theory of 615-33 A.D. as the date of Viṣṇuvardhana I. And this necessitates us to fall upon the other alternative date, viz. 624 to 641 A.D., which chimes with all known facts.

As the dynastic records of the Eastern Cālukyas affirm that Viṣṇuvardhana I ruled at Veṅgī for 18 years, the date 624 A.D. must be taken as the initial date of his rule at that place. These 18 years, therefore, sharply exclude the period of his viceroyalty both of Piṣṭapura and South Mārhāṭhā, but include the years of both his viceroyalty and royalty at Veṅgī. Thus Viṣṇuvardhana was the viceroy at Piṣṭapura before 624 A.D., when he had shifted his headquarters or capital to Veṅgī, and after 617-18 A.D., when he was the governor of South Mārhāṭhā. We may, therefore, justifiably assume the period of his viceroyalty at Piṣṭapura as 619-23 A.D.

This means that Pulakeśin II conquered the eastern coast in or about 619 A.D., provided Viṣṇuvardhana was his first viceroy to be appointed there.

For aught we know, the Pallava Mahendravarman I (c. 600-30 A.D.), who was not killed by Pulakeśin II, outlived his disaster at the hands of the enemy by a length of time. This is in complete agreement with the date c. 619 A.D. as the time of Pulakeśin's conquest of Andhra, after which he proceeded towards Kāñcī, the capital of the former. In other words, Mahendravarman lived for about a decade more after his defeat by Pulakeśin.

There is absolutely nothing in the Kopparam (Guntur District) Plates of Pulakeśin II, dated in 631 A.D., to indicate the conquest of the eastern coast by him in or about that date, or that Viṣṇuvardhana had accompanied him there. The inscription simply records a grant made by the Mahārāja Pulakeśin to a certain brahmin, and says that, "in the year twenty-one of his reign, Vallabha (i.e. Pulakeśin), being present in person (*samakṣ=āvasthite*), the execution (of the present grant) was formally bestowed upon Pṛthivī-yuvarāja (i. e., Viṣṇuvardhana), who having defeated the circle of enemies by his arm (which was) a churning-stick of the wicked people of the Kali (age), which was skilled in daring (deeds) in many battles..." etc.[2]

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[2] *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, pp. 257-60. His achievements as a hero are delineated in the Chipurupalle grant, 641 A.D., as, "(He was called)

This shows, if it does anything, that Pṛthivī-yuvarāja (i.e., Viṣṇuvardhana) was already stationed as a *yuvarāja*-viceroy there, in Andhra, from where he was engaged in fighting with others. And read in conjunction with the Lohaner (Nāsik District) Plates of Pulakeśin II, 630 A.D., (*Ep. Ind.*, XXVII, pp. 37-41), it would mean for Pulakeśin that from the Nāsik region where he had been that year he went in 631 A.D. to the eastern coast, on either a second or any subsequent official or private visit (not campaign), and that although he was personally present there, the execution of the land grant in Andhra was entrusted upon his dear brother and ruler of that province.

In 631 A.D., the date of the Kopparam Plates, Viṣṇuvardhana was yet a *yuvarāja* and viceroy. At that time Pulakeśin was at the acme of his power and glory, and it is absurd that Viṣṇuvardhana could even think of declaring independence then. Evil days of Pulakeśin started from about 640 A.D., or a little earlier, when the Pallava Narasiṁhavarman had begun "repeatedly to defeat him." And it is exactly then that we find in the Chipurupalle grant (of the 18th year of Viṣṇuvardhana's rule, which thus corresponds to 641 A.D.,) that he has been styled a *Mahārāja*. Even here we should note that the Chipurupalle grant begins with a respectful tribute to Pulakeśin (Satyāśraya), while Viṣṇuvardhana (Viṣamasiddhi) is still continued to be described as "his dear younger brother". This shows that no love was lost, or there was no open rupture, between the two brothers even at that time, and we may not be surprised if his assumption of independence in the eastern coast at that time of Cālukya peril, had the tacit sanction of Pulakeśin. Not long after his declaration of independence Viṣṇuvardhana died, when his son Jayasiṁha I came to the throne.

Vishamasiddhi, because he had achieved success against fortresses, difficult of access, on the plains, in the water, in the woods and on hills......" etc., *Ind. Ant.*, XX, pp. 17 f.

Before concluding, I am to digress and take to another theme, viz. Harṣa-Pulakeśin war, which has not a little bearing upon the question.

Too much has been made by some scholars of the two inscriptions, Lohaner and Kopparam, of Pulakeśin II, dated in 630 and 631 respectively. These are simply two innocent land-grants, wherein there is no attempt to recount any of the exploits, conquests or warfares of that monarch. The Lohaner Plates only speak in very general terms that he was the master of the Eastern and Western Seas (*Pūrvv = āpara = āmbudhi-nāthaḥ*). These scholars, in view of the absence in these two records of any mention of his war with Harṣavardhana, as if they mention all other exploits and wars of his save only this one, date the Harṣa-Pulakeśin war after 631 A.D., forsooth taking it as what is to be called "negative evidence". It is no evidence.

A peep into the Aihole *Praśasti* of Pulakeśin II (634 A.D.) would show that according to it the exploits of the monarch fall into two distinct phases, the first in the western coast and the second in the eastern coast, the operation against Harṣa being placed in between these two in verse 23. There is no reason to apprehend that in spite of all the propensities of the court-poet to extol his sovereign in lofty style of speech, which he was in duty bound to do, he has violated or over-turned the basic chronology of events. So far as the Lāṭas, Mālavas and Gurjaras to the north of Pulakeśin's territory, who are mentioned in verse 22, are concerned, they were not to suffer any defeat by force, involving any time factor, but they submitted to him of their own accord (cf. *Ep. Ind.*, VI, p. 2). There is, however, a distinct break in the chain of events following the struggle with Harṣa and preceding the description of the campaign in eastern coast, commencing with Kośala and Kaliṅga (v. 26). In this intermission the poet narrates in two verses (vv. 24-25) his royal master's engagements in the sandbanks of the Revā (Narmadā) in the neighbourhood of the Vindhyas, and his acquiring sovereignty over the three Mahārāṣṭrakas with their nine and ninety thousand villages. This bespeaks of a considerable lapse of time after Harṣa's discomfiture and before Pulakeśin's embarking (c. 619 A.D.) upon his eastern campaign. Add to this, of all other things, the evidence of the Hyderabad Plates (612 A.D.) of Pulakeśin II, according to which he assumed by that date the title of *Parameśvara* by defeating a hostile king (*i.e.* Harṣa) "who had applied himself to a contest of a hundred battles," and also the testimony of Hiuen Tsang (not that of his *Life*) that Harṣa "waged incessant warfare until in six years (i.e. 606-12 A.D.) he had fought the five Indias" and then reigned in peace for thirty years. Thus three different sources of information coincide in a way that it renders the conclusion irresistible that the Harṣa-Pulakeśin war took place in 611-12 A.D. The successors of Pulakeśin proudly recall this brilliant achievement of their ancestor by glorifying him as "the victor of Harṣa, the lord of all Uttarāpatha". In spite of this, it has been argued that the Cālukya emperor took upon himself the imposing title of Parameśvara by defeating not the great Harṣavardhana, but only two rebel chieftains, (Āppāyika and Govinda), and two minor neighbouring kings (Kadamba and Maurya), "but that an additional significance was later attached to it after his victory over Parameśvara Harṣavardhana" (cf. *Classical Age*, p. 237). But this is, on one hand, explicitly magnifying the two rebel chieftains and two petty rulers as such exalted monarchs as to justify the description of "who had applied themselves to the contest of a hundred battles", and on the other, boldly levelling at the successors of Pulakeśin II the charge of deliberate suppression or denial of what was true, just as all notorious liars do. Is this, I wonder, the intrinsic character of the Cālukyan records that they so grossly misrepresent persons and events?

N. N. Das Gupta

British Policy in the Context of Bhonsla-Bhopal Relations 1810–1814

The territory of Bhopal, situated as it was between the territories of Sindia and Bhonsla, and adjoining them, was the object of a joint invasion by the troops of the Maratha Confederates. For many years Raghuji Bhonsla had been at enmity with the Nawab Wazir Mohammad of Bhopal and hostilities had been carried on between them with varying success.[1] The Nawab was dispossessed of all possessions and even the town of Bhopal by both the Maratha Chiefs, whose objectives were "thus the very subversion of the Government".[2] A partition of Bhopal territory was effected and some provision was made for the Nawab, but they could not retain their hold over that territory for a long time. The Confederates were baffled by the energy and heroism of Wazir Mohammad.[3] As soon as the armies of Sindia and Bhonsla evacuated, Wazir Mohammad Khan returned and wrested the country from Maratha garrison, and in concert with Amir Khan and other Pindaris began aggressive measures against Bhonsla's territory, Berar, plundering its inhabitants.[4] After the retreat of Amir Khan which was due to the advance of the British army under Colonel Close, Wazir Mohammad apprehended that Colonel Close's next move would be against him. He therefore made overtures to Colonel Close to abide by British mediation between him and the Raja of Nagpur.

The British Government was not willing to allow the depredations of Nawab of Bhopal in concert with the Pindaris upon the territories of Raghuji Bhonsla as they were on good terms with that Rajah.[5] As Amir Khan's demands upon Bhonsla were groundless and oppressive, the British Government wanted him to desist and retire, but he still continued to cross the Nerbuda and attack Bhonsla's army. The Nawab pleaded that he had not called Amir Khan, but on the contrary, the latter had threatened to deprive him of the administration, if he did not join with him in his objective of attacking the Bhonsla. Wazir Mohammad Khan's first efforts, made about the year 1809, to obtain the assistance and mediation of the British Government in his struggles with the Marathas were unsuccessful. For self-preservation he was compelled to unite himself with the Pindari leaders.[6] A few years later the Nawab made a strenuous effort to conclude a treaty with the British, sending Inayet Masih to represent him, but the appeal was rejected by the British Government.[7]

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[1] Ramsay's Report, 1845 (Govt. Press. Nagpur), p. 16.

[2] Close's letter to the Secretary to Government, dated 31 January, 1810.

[3] *Nagpur District Gazetteer* (1908), p. 42.

[4] Poona Residency Records—*Nagpur Affairs*, vol. V. (1770-1820), p. 270.

The Nawab of Bhopal's relations with the Pindaris were prompted by necessity, and it had been the custom of the Chiefs of Malwa to employ the Pindaris. By 1809 the Pathan Chieftain, Amir Khan, had established his influence at various courts such as those of Jodhpur, Indore, and in Bhopal the Nawab was his willing protégé.[8] He had under him Holkar's forces, and was professedly inimical to the interests of the East India Company,[9] and he was responsible for creating a state of anarchy in Malwa and Rajputana.[10] The British Government desired to maintain its good relations with the ruler of Nagpur and wanted the Nawab of Bhopal to return to the former Choukey Ghur and Chynpoore

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[5] Close's letter to the Secretary to the Government, 31st January, 1810.

[6] C. U. Aitchison, *Treaties, Engagements and Sanads*, vol. IV, p. 305.

[7] *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. III, (1908), p. 130.

[8] *Poona Residency Correspondence*, vol. XI, Introduction, p. 19.

[9] The Private Journal of the Marquess of Hastings entry February 1st, 1814.

[10] Grant Duff, *A History of Maharattas*, vol. II, p. 451.

Baree which he had forcibly wrested from him. The Nawab, on the advice of Colonel Close, directed his principal officers at Chynpoore Baree and Choukey Ghur, to restore both to the rightful owner.

The relations of the Nawab of Bhopal with Bhonslas are not an isolated fact, but connected with the issue of Pindaris and Seronj.[11] To stabilise their position in the area, the British Government discussed several important questions, as it was considered necessary to establish a British force in the territory north of the Nerbudda. This measure has been rightly described as "the keystone of the political arch in that quarter".[12] It would have served as a connecting link between the different military stations of the Company. The British Government wanted to give to Holkar Seronj, which it had wrested from Amir Khan, but was afraid that the territory would always be liable to revert to Amir Khan's possessions. The British Government was not specific in its policy with regard to Bhopal. Many approaches were open before them, viz. to conquer his kingdom, to arbitrate between Bhonsla and Nawab of Bhopal or to keep themselves aloof without interfering in Bhopal's internal affairs. The Governor General, Lord Minto, authorised Colonel Close, either to accede to the terms of settlement with the Nawab of Bhopal or to dispossess him and demand a sum of money and the expulsion of Pindaris from his country.

The idea of mediation between the Raja of Nagpur and the Nawab of Bhopal was considered, but the issue of guarantee ruled it out. Another question arose whether the British Government should in concert with the Rajah, conquer Bhopal and surrender it to him, unconditionally, even if he refused to admit British force in his territory. The Governor-General reached the conclusion that he should either aid the Rajah in the conquest of Bhopal or induce the Rajah to admit a British army into his territories north of the Nerbudda, or else the East India Company should withdraw its force, making the best practicable arrangement for the defence of Berar, "leaving the Rajah to pursue his own measure with regard to Bhopal." Colonel Close was instructed not to aim at dispossessing the Nawab of his territory but to proceed to negotiate for the purpose of effecting a settlement between the Nawab and the Rajah. The Governor-General Lord Minto proposed an adjustment of differences between the Rajah and the Nawab if it were practicable without the Company's guarantee. The Company was inclined to offer guarantee only if it was possible to maintain its armed forces to the north of the Nerbudda. It was also pointed out that the Company must allow the Rajah to act as he thinks proper with regard to Bhopal.[13] The Governor-General was opposed to the idea of being drawn into an extensive field of operations in pursuing the Pindaris. All the important objectives had been achieved in that quarter, i.e. the retreat of Amir Khan, the occupation of Seronj and its transfer to Holkar, the submission of the Nawab of Bhopal on the terms prescribed, the expulsion of the Pindaris from their present hold in that country. The British Government wanted very much to keep permanently the British force on the Nerbudda. This would have been a beneficial arrangement, but it was impracticable as the Rajah was against it.

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[11] Letter from Colonel Close to Jenkins, dated 6th February, 1810.

[12] Letter from the Secretary to Government to Colonel Close, dated 21st February, 1810.

The Qil'ahdar of Choukeegarh refused to hand over that fort to Bhonsla's officers, and in consequence a force of infantry equipped with guns from Jeswantrao Dattaji had been sent against it.[14] Jenkins, the Resident at the court of Nagpur, made attempts for a Subsidiary Alliance with Raghuji Bhonsla, but the Rajah was unwilling to consider that proposal.[15] The Governor-General found that arrangements of a defensive nature of a force on the northern bank of the Nerbudda was impossible because of the unwillingness of the Bhonsla to allow it. He thought of stationing permanently a force near the south western frontier of Bundelkhand, "which would answer the purpose of preventing the resumption of projects such as we have lately frustrated on the part of Amir Khan or any other chief and of covering the province of Bundelkhand and the district of Mirzapur".[16] And it would be possible also to intercept a force advancing from the eastern side of Malwa, which in fact was the essential object of the plan of stationing a force on the Nerbudda. If it had the effect of deterring the approach of a hostile force on the eastward, the strength of a post at Amravati or other point on the eastern frontier of Berar might be proportionately reduced. The object of the latter indeed would then be limited to the "protection of that province against the incursions of the Pindaris."[17] Whether it was possible or not, the Governor-General left it to Colonel Martindel, who, with his experience and local knowledge, could form judgment and give his opinion regarding such matters as the facility of obtaining supplies and of preserving an uninterrupted communication with the interior of Bundelkhand. The Colonel was also allowed to judge the expediency of maintaining such a formidable force, as it obviously was just on the boundary of the British territories, along with the other military stations. The Governor-General asked him to consider and use his discretion to decide whether any objection or impediment to the plan was likely to arise out of the dispossession of the petty chief who possessed the territory in which the forces were intended to be stationed, and who was connected with the Company by engagements which placed him to a "certain degree in a condition of dependence on the British Government."[18]

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[13] Letter from the Secretary to Government to Colonel Close, dated 22nd February, 1810.

[14] Letter from Jenkins to Colonel Close, dated 22nd February, 1810.

[15] *Ibid.*

The Government was anxious to withdraw the troops from the field as soon as it might be practicable, with a view to the reduction of the heavy burden of expense, and also with a view to sending back immediately to Mysore the horses which were maintained at the charge of the British Government.

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[16] Letter from the Secretary to Government to Colonel Close, dated 28th February, 1810.

[17] *Ibid.*

[18] *Ibid.*

The British Resident at the court of the Rajah of Nagpur, Mr. Richard Jenkins, wrote to Colonel Close that even if Bhopal was conquered and given over to Bhonsla, he would not consent to the British forces being stationed in his territories. He would accept this proposition only when the Company would show its determination to settle the problem of that part of the country, "and that he had only the choice of seeing a British force stationed in that country, either as his own or as a dependency of the British Government."[19] He said that the Rajah of Nagpur treated very lightly the advantage of the British aid and the Rajah had expressed decidedly that he was confident of conquering Bhopal himself.[20] He relied on his own strength and Sindia's power to conquer Bhopal.

Colonel Close had a meeting with Sadik 'Ali Khan the commander of the Bhonsla Rajah, and pointed out to him that His Highness's territories were constantly harassed by incursions of the Pindaris which ended in the late serious invasion by Amir Khan.[21] The Rajah was also not keeping good relation with the Nawab of Bhopal who was "violently bent on revenge", as he conceived that the Nagpur Government had unjustly taken possession of districts belonging to the Bhopal territory. The dangers thus hanging over the Rajah's Government were not limited merely to the Rajah's interests, but extended to the frontiers of the Honourable Company's allies, the Nizam and the Peshwa. The British Government was interested in the conduct of the Rajah's Government respecting its enemies and hoped that the Rajah would now adopt a course of measure calculated to prevent a recurrence of these dangers, against which his kingdom had been so happily protected. The question of attacking Bhopal, with a view to its conquest by the Company, appeared to be difficult. Bhopal was separated from Berar by the Nagpur territory, and Sindia certainly considered it as tributary to him. If the Company occupied Bhopal this would give rise to uneasiness in the mind of Sindia.

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[19] Letter from Jenkins to Colonel Close, dated 28th February, 1810.

[20] *Ibid.*

[21] Letter from Colonel Close to the Secretary to Government, dated 1st March, 1810.

The Rajah of Nagpur was not likely to contract a subsidiary alliance with the British Government even if the Bhopal territory was transferred to him.[22] The question presented itself then as to what was to be done to prevent the return of Amir Khan to the Nerbudda and to avoid the inconvenience that would immediately result to the British interests from his again placing the Nagpur Government in danger. The keeping of a subsidiary force with the Chief of Saugar was not possible. Another solution was to give Bhopal to the Rajah of Nagpur unconditionally without much delay, the British troops withdrawing when the transfer should be completed. This would fulfil the object of the British Government which was that Bhopal should not be held by any party in alliance with Amir Khan.[23] Colonel Close informed Jenkins that he had opened negotiations in concert with Sadik 'Āli Khan for an agreement between the Nawab of Bhopal and the Rajah of Nagpur.[24] The Governor-General wrote to the Resident at Nagpur pointing out the deliberate omission of all acknowledgment for the essential aid which the Rajah derived from the protection of the British power under circumstances which menaced the subversion of his Government, adding that his exaggeration of the prowess of his arms in compelling the retreat of Amir Khan, was highly offensive and disgusting."[25] He had shown jealousy and suspicion in not accepting the proposal to station British troops permanently on the Nerbudda. The Rajah of Nagpur at last accepted the stationing of British troops in his territories on the Nerbudda.

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[22] *Ibid.*

[23] *Ibid.*

[24] Letter from Close to Mr. Jenkins, dated 26th March, 1810.

[25] Letter from the Secretary to Government to Jenkins, dated 26th March 1810.

At the same time the Governor-General was doubtful about many questions relating to it i.e. the motives and objectives of his acquiescence. As a fundamental principle it would be admitted that two parties concurring in the same arrangement should concur in the view and purposes to which it was directed.[26] The agreement should not be contracted if the motives and objectives were incompatible and contradictory. The Governor-General was very particular to know how the Rajah veered from his reluctance to a position in which he agreed to keep the troops, so that advantage might accrue to him. Then it was expected that he would concur in all the declared purposes of the arrangement and favour the operation of it in a manner calculated to accomplish those purposes.[27] The Rajah of Nagpur desired the benefit of the stationing of troops without the humiliation of dependence on the Company, and judging from past affairs the British were interested in affording him that protection in every future crisis, hence the Rajah expected to secure the benefit of it without any corresponding concession. He merely wished to impose upon the Company, an obligation to protect him against future danger and to employ its troops as auxiliaries for extension of his dominion. It was no part of his object to concur in a wise and provident system of defensive arrangement founded on the basis of common interests and common views. He would prefer a simple declaration that the Company would not suffer its dominion to be subverted, along with the return of its troops to their ordinary stations. He consented therefore to the mere admission of British troops into his territory, not because it was the best arrangement for his protection and for the general defence of the Deccan but because he thought that the Company's protection in a season of eventual danger could not be otherwise secured. He was not prepared to contribute to the efficiency of that arrangement by granting the privileges and advances which were necessary to render it efficient, i.e., liberty of moving the force in any direction, a free passage for detachments intended for its relief or supply, a privilege of drawing any supplies from any part of his territories and all the forms of accommodation which a state, sensible of the benefits arising from the presence of a protecting force, would be willing to afford.[28] It was to him an object of jealousy and apprehension and so also was every demand connected with the agreement. By immediately stationing their troops on his frontier, the British do not commit themselves to the arrangement, since it will always be at their option to withdraw them if he refuses to agree to necessary terms. If they fail to take advantage of the Rajah's present disposition to admit a British force, the opportunity may be lost. The course of events may remove the Rajah's present sense of danger and jealousy. That the force proposed to be stationed to the northward of the Nerbudda, would be sufficiently strong to overcome any that could be brought against it, and that there would always be time to add to it if necessary for its security from either Bundelkhand or Berar.[29] The grand "object was to plant a force in that situation; when once stationed there, the Rajah would feel the benefit of its presence. He would become accustomed and reconciled to it by finding that in reality his independence was not affected and that he would gradually step into the state of dependence in which the Nizam and Peshwa are placed and this was the natural consequence of a connection between power and weakness and that ultimately all the British aim would be completely attained, although in the early stage of the arrangement it may be exposed to inconvenience and embarrassment."[30]

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[26] Letter from the *Secretary* to Government to Jenkins, dated 3rd April, 1810.

[27] *Ibid.*

It was further pointed out that the Rajah had manifested towards the British a most offensive spirit of suspicion while he owed his political existence at this moment to the British aid, given by them at an enormous expense. Far from acknowledging the slightest obligation, he ascribed his relief from danger exclusively to the prowess of his arms and attributed British aid as directed against the independence of his Government. He granted the British as a concession the permission to defend him at the expense of *t*he British, and expected in return that the British should submit to every restraint that he would put and should assist him at the British cast in conquering territory for his benefit.[31] It was thought that the Company would not sacrifice substance for shadow when the arrangement was so beneficial to it. Other questions cropped up. Unless the Rajah contributed to defray the charges of the force, he could not be entitled to claim its services for any purpose other than the defence of his country against external attack. The protection of his country from external attack seemed of necessity to require that the Company should possess some control over his conduct, otherwise it might be involved in wars as the result of the Rajah's policy, his injustice and imprudence. The control could only be established by stipulations relative to the Company's arbitration of disputes such as were inserted in the treaties of alliance with the Nizam and the Peshwa. To this the Rajah was not likely to consent, nor was he likely to agree to restrictions upon his relation with other states. In these circumstances, the idea would probably have to be abandoned. It was also to be decided whether the Rajah should be allowed to invade the territories of his neighbours and whether the Company should repel the invasion by the Pindaris of the territories of the Raja of Nagpur. The troops should have the privilege of changing their position, instead of being limited to one place,—a free passage for the British troops through the country north or south of Nerbudda must be demanded. The Rajah should be called upon to contribute at least to the extra-expense of the proposed arrangement, of which he would be the chief beneficiary.

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[28] *Ibid.*

[29] *Ibid.*

[30] *Ibid.*

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[31] *Ibid.*

The Nawab Wazir Mohammad Khan appealed to the Governor-General to protect him from the aggressions of the Bhonsla, and agreed to British mediation. He pointed out that for a period of thirty years, he had given proof of his attachment and devotion to the British Government and rendered to it every service in his power.[32] The British Government had promised him their support and protection.[33] But since the time the Nawab formed a connection with the British Government, he had become the object of envy and jealousy of all the southern chiefs, who in consequence sought to distress and harass him by various means in their power. Rajah Raghoji Bhonsla seized the fortresses of Hoshangabad and Seoni and three years ago wrested from his possession Baree and Choukeegurh, while Daulat Rao Sindia seized the forts of Islamnagur, Suhwans and Ramgarh, and plundered his territory and even the place of his residence. Raghoji had even captured his son Ghous Muhammad Khan, a boy of twelve years of age, though subsequently he restored the boy. He had pledged to return Seoni, Hoshangabad and Choukeegurh, but his officers had failed to return back those territories. During the predatory activity of Amir Khan, the Nawab had succeeded to the possession of Choukeegurh and Baree. But Colonel Close arrived and required the Nawab to give back Baree and Choukeegurh, promising that he would effect an adjustment of his differences according to the principles of equity and justice and procure the release of his lands. The Nawab requested that he might be protected against the encroachments and violence of Sindia and Raghuji Bhonsla, who, violating former engagements, had resorted to tyranny, oppression and plunder.

The Governor-General, Lord Minto, referred the case of the Nawab of Bhopal to the Resident at Nagpur, and asked him to mediate between him and Rajah Raghuji. He wrote: "The

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32 Malcolm, *Political History of India*, vol. I. 1784-1823, p. 447. (See the footnote).

33 Letter from Wazir Mohammad Khan, the Nawab of Bhopal, to the Governor-General (received 1st July, 1810).

Maharaja Bhonsla is master in his own dominions and the British Government has no right to control his proceedings. If the Nawab is desirous of adjusting his differences with the Rajah, the East India Company would recommend his sending a Vakeel for that purpose to Nagpur, and in that event the British Resident at His Highness's court will be authorised to assist in bringing those differences to a favourable adjustment on the terms proposed to you by Colonel Close, as I am sincerely desirous of your welfare."[34]

Jenkins, in his despatch to the Governor-General, discussed the possible terms upon which a mediation for adjusting the dispute between the Bhonsla Rajah and the Nawab of Bhopal could be undertaken. The Nawab of Bhopal was not inclined to come to an accommodation with the British Government without obtaining better terms than those proposed by Colonel Close. He further wanted a guarantee from the Company that it would maintain his territorial integrity from possible encroachments. He was then prepared to agree to any terms of peace through British mediation.[35] The Rajah of Nagpur was bent upon the conquest of Bhopal. But the Nawab was determined to get back Choukeegurh and Baree, and desired to elicit a guarantee, either expressed or implied, from the British Government. The Rajah of Nagpur was also proceeding towards Nerbudda—to complete the long projected conquest and partition of Bhopal, to strike a blow against the Pindaris, and to concert plans for their mutual defence against Amir Khan. The Sindia also thought on the same lines. An agent of the Nawab of Bhopal pointed out that Sindia had released the two Pindari leaders i.e. Karim Khan and Chetoo Khan, and that they were likely to recommence their depredations over the territories of the Maratha Chiefs. If an accommodation could take place "and we obtain possession of the places seized by this government by a complete ratification and treaty through your means, who are mediator for us, we will co-operate with the forces of Raghoji in the punishment of those marauders".[36]

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[34] Letter from Governor-General to Wazir Mohammad Khan, the Nawab of Bhopal, dated 7th July, 1810.

[35] Letter from Jenkins to Lord Minto, dated 17th October, 1810.

The Resident reported to the Governor-General about the Rajah having offered to enter into a subsidiary treaty with the British Government giving up his claim to Bhopal and Garhakota. The Rajah's minister Shreedhar Pundit was authorised to negotiate the treaty with the British Resident at Nagpur. The Subsidiary Alliance was to be patterned on the basis of the treaty of Bassein and Hyderabad. The alliances with the courts of Hyderabad and Poona owed their efficiency and stability in a great measure to the fact that all disputes with foreign powers were to be submitted to the arbitration of the British Government, "which itself desiring nothing but general peace and tranquillity, was perfectly unbiassed in all its decisions whilst it never permitted the just rights of its allies to be invaded".[37] They contained the Rajah's acceptance of a force such as "your Lordship originally proposed to be generally stationed in a position north or south of the Nerbudda at the option of the British Government, and to move in any direction necessary, as well as to have the privilege of changing that position in case it should be determined on by both Governments."[38] The Rajah agreed to defray the specified charges in such instalments as might be agreed on. The permission to purchase supplies of every description in all parts of His Highness's territory free of all imposts or duties was accorded. The friends and enemies of each were to be the friends and enemies of both the parties. In case of differences arising with any foreign power both parties were to unite in endeavouring to obtain satisfaction by means of peaceable negotiation and eventually to pursue such measures of peace

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36 Note written by an agent of the Nawab of Bhopal, dated 12th November, 1810.

37 Letter from Jenkins to Lord Minto, 6th January, 1810.

38 *Ibid.*

or war as might be mutually resolved on. A mutual agreement was made not to retain in each other's dominions the discontented subjects of either party, on the Rajah's side including members of his family or relations. On the part of the British Government an arrangement was made to guarantee the Rajah's dominions from all external attack, including the excursions of the Pindaris and a declaration of the Rajah's independence in all internal affairs, and to his family, relations, dependents and servants. There was also a proviso that a force would not be employed on any petty service.[39]

Jenkins informed the Vice-President of the Council that Wazir Mohammad Khan of Bhopal was trying to wrest his former possessions with the help of the Pindari chiefs, Karim and Chotoo, recently released by Sindia. Moreover, the Pindaris were gathering near the Rajah's frontiers[40] and they were said to have been received with much attention by Wazir Mohammad Khan and to have been visited by the various Pindari chiefs. The Nawab, with the assistance of Karim, was about to commence vigorous efforts to retake all the places wrested from him by the Nagpur Government to the northward of the Nerbudda and there was a report that Karim had already demanded a large contribution from the Rajah.[41] At the same time Baptiste, on the part of Sindia, with a force said to consist of six battalions and thirty guns, had advanced to Gurah Kotta after taking possession of Multown and other places belonging to the Gurha Kotta territory, and had summoned the Rajah's commander to raise the seize, alleging that the place belonged to Sindia—"thus the Rajah is on every side surrounded with difficulties."[42] Jenkins informed the Government explaining with respect to the possessions of the Bhonsla Rajah the mutual relations and the conflicting claims of Sindia and Bhonsla on Bhopal and

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[39] *Ibid.*

[40] Letter from Jenkins to Lieutenant General Hewett, dated 13th April 1811

[41] *Ibid.*

[42] *Ibid.*

Gurha Kotta together with a history of the two principalities.[43] It served the Government well for formulating a policy "for deciding the questions of granting or withholding its interference in the claims and disputes of the Rajah of Nagpur relative to those places."[44] The Rajah "had been freed from all apprehensions of immediate danger from the Pindarees by the retreat and dispersion of Kureem force. His Highness has continued the military preparations which were originally intended to avert danger from his own territories and capital, with the view of renewing offensive operations against Bhopal. To this object it is understood that some late communication of Sindhia have called the Rajah's attention by reviving in his mind those hopes of effectual assistance from that quarter in the conquest of the country, which have so often proved vain and which late occurrences had quashed."[45] The forces of Sadik Ali Khan and Jeswant Rao Dattaji either had crossed or were shortly to cross the Nerbudda to endeavour to retake Chynpore Baree and Choukeegurh which they did not expect to find difficult. Jenkins informed Lord Minto that Wazir Mohammad Khan's "behaviour during the late transactions had been very contradictory."[46] The latter was always inclined to side with the strongest party. As long as the contest seemed to be between the Rajah and Karim only he would naturally adhere to the latter, but when it appeared that Sindia was resolved on active measures against the marauder, and that these were likely to be successful, he found it in his interest still to turn to the strongest party.

The Resident at Nagpur reported to the Governor-General that the condition of Bala Saheb's health was precarious and the

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[43] Letter from Jenkins to the Chief Secretary to Government, 9th December, 1811.

[44] Letter ;from Edmonstone, Chief Secretary to Government to Richard Jenkins, Fort William, dated 3rd January, 1812.

[45] Letter from Jenkins to Lord Minto, dated 14th February, 1812.

[46] *Ibid.*

Rajah every day showed increasing marks of favour and distinction to his nephew Appa Sahib. This meant that Raghoji considered him as his presumptive successor. Bala Saheb led a miserable existence, almost deprived of sight and disabled from every exertion of mind and body. No hopes appeared to be entertained that he would be any better. Jugoo Bapoo after erecting batteries against Bhopal came to a compromise with the Nawab about his demands, having received payment of about a lakh of rupees and the person of the Nawab's son as an hostage, for the remainder of his claims. Sadik 'Ali, much to his chagrin, found that Jugoo Bapoo who wanted his co-operation in the operations against Bhopal, moved off with his army towards Shiywalpur.[47] Sadik 'Ali Khan and Jugoo Bapoo made preparations for an attack on Bhopal, because their principal employment seemed to be raising of money from the surrounding country to pay their starving troops. In this, little progress was made for the simple reason that peace in these areas had been reduced to penury by the earlier depredations of the Pindaris. Wazir Mohammad Khan and the Pindaris who adhered to him were in the meantime not inactive in annoying their enemies. Frequent attacks were made by the Pindaris on the foraging parties of Sadik 'Ali Khan and Jugoo Bapoo with partial success.[48] In apprehension of the meditated attack upon the town of Bhopal, Wazir Mohammad Khan had taken refuge with all the Sahookars and men of property in his fort of Raisin. To defend Bhopal he is said to have left a force of 300 infantry and 300 horse under an European Officer.[49] Jenkins reported to the Governor-General that he had explained to the Raja's minister the interpretation put by his Government on the Treaty of Bassein. The need for this explanation arose out of a discussion about the investiture of young Holkar in which the Peshwa and the other Maratha Chiefs were concerned. The Resident was assured firstly that the Peshwa would not confer the investiture in opposition to the declared wishes of the British Government, and secondly Holkar's Government would not make any great sacrifice to obtain so barren and useless an honour, or if it would, it must strangely be ignorant of the actual state of India under the new relations which now subsisted amongst its principal states, and of what was due to its own lately acquired independence.[50] After the Treaty of Bassein had commenced and the subsequent treaties between the three great Maratha powers and the British Government and its allies had been concluded, the Government of India left every state independent within itself, and it had virtually dissolved all the former connections of allegiance which any of the Maratha states owed or pretended to owe to the Peshwa.[51] The foreign concerns of the Peshwa's Government fell by treaty of Bassein under the sole cognizance and administration of the British Government. The British Government did not desire to add any territory to its dominions but wanted to ensure its own security in the general tranquillity of India. With this object in view it considered it an express article of that engagement that no attempt should be made against any of the great branches of the Maratha Empire, thereby acknowledging their total independence of the Peshwa.[52] The wars, and the treaties which followed, bound all parties to submit to the arbitration of the British Government in all contested points with any of the allies of that Government and amongst those, of course with the Peshwa, thus securing the other Maratha powers in the unmolested and independent possession of their rights and territories.

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[47] Letter from Jenkins to Lord Minto, dated 23rd June, 1812.

[48] Letter from Jenkins to Lord Minto, dated 28th August, 1812.

[49] *Ibid.*

Jenkins informed the Governor-General that "the siege of Bhopal has not at all advanced and Wazir Mohammad Khan still continues to defend it in person. Continual sorties have been made against the enemy's batteries by the Nabob with partial success and the place not being entirely invested, he succeeds in introducing all kinds of supplies when required without any possibility of being molested. Daily skirmishes also take place between the Pindaris of either side with little influence on the main operations."[53] With the exception of the troops with Sadik Ali Khan at Bhopal and an inconsiderable force employed under Maljee Ahere Rao and Ramgola Seik about Gardwara to check the Pindaris of Dost Mohammad Khan's party, the Rajah had drawn all his troops about Nagpur and seemed regardless of the devastation of his country.[54] The circumstances under which the force of the allies abandoned the seige of Bhopal were reported to the Governor-General by the Resident. The Rajah of Nagpur had sent an order to his commander Sadik Ali Khan to return to Nagpur. When Bala Bhow and the other chiefs of Sindia's forces became acquainted with his intentions, he endeavoured by every means of persuasion to prevail upon Sadik Ali Khan to disregard these orders, and not withdraw his forces from Bhopal. Sadik 'Ali Khan pleaded the total want of all supplies both of cash and provision, and mentioned the very high price of grain. He observed that the orders he had received were presumptory, and that strict obedience was at all times incumbent upon him, and that in the present instance, the circumstances, he had alleged, fully proved the expediency also of the measure.[55] The Chiefs of Sindia adopted a higher strain of remonstrance accusing him of treachery to the general cause, of having been bribed by the Nawab of Bhopal to withdraw his troops from co-operation, and by thus unexpectedly deserting the cause of having frustrated all the plans that had been mutually agreed upon amongst them. Sadik Ali Khan, fearing his own security, decided to return. Sindia's troops immediately occupied those posts near Bhopal from which Sadik Ali's forces had retired and 3000 Pindaris under Wasil Mohammad spread themselves over the district of Chynpore Baree, a measure which precluded Sadik Ali from putting into execution the orders he had received for occupying that district.[56] The accusations of

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[50] *Ibid.* [51] *Ibid.* [52] *Ibid.*

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[53] Letter from Jenkins to Lord Minto, dated 18th January, 1813.

[54] *Ibid.*

Sindia's chiefs do not seem to have been devoid of foundation, for Sadik Ali from his post on the Nerbudda kept up a constant negotiation with the Nawab of Bhopal, urging him to send his son, Nazeer Mohammad Khan, to him for it was his intention to set out for Nagpur with him. The Nawab of Bhopal seems to have taken almost immediate advantage of the removal of so great a part of the forces that had been pressing on him, and by a vigorous and well directed sally compelled Sindia's troops to abandon their batteries, and Pindaris also ably supported him. This culminated in the withdrawal of Sindia's troops from Bhopal. Mixed motives seem to have induced the Rajah of Nagpur to discontinue his attempts upon Bhopal,—despair of success from want of means of paying his troops, and suspicion of the intentions and good faith of his allies which might lead him to dread even the success of the enterprise as being likely to expose him to the mortification of seeing Sindia ultimately reap the fruits of his long continued efforts.[57] Another reason which induced the Rajah to withdraw Sadik Ali Khan from Bhopal was his intention of proceeding on a pilgrimage to the Godavary and the temple at Jejoory, for the recovery of his son's health. The pilgrimage was now to be performed in the midst of the season of the incursions of the Pindaris, and this would naturally lead him to wish to concentrate round Nagpur the greatest part of his forces and commit the charge of his capital in his absence to the commander in whom he had the greatest confidence.[58]

In response ro the Governor-General's instructions, Mr. Jenkins submitted an elaborate report on the proposed arrangements with Bhopal, with a draft treaty betwen the Nawab of Bhopal and the British Government. The Resident pointed ont "that the entire conquest of that principality is at present mediated by

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55 Letter from George Sotheby, Acting Resident to Earl of Minto, dated 23rd September, 1813.

56 *Ibid.*

57 *Ibid.*

58 *Ibid.*

Sindia either on his own account or for the purpose of transferring to it the Rajah of Nagpur for a pecuniary consideration." Thus the State of Bhopal was to be swallowed up by either of its more powerful neighbours. But the Maratha Chiefs gave up their ambition for ever from Bhopal, as that State now came under the protection of the East India Company.[59]

The writer of the article comes to the conclusion that Sindia and Bhonsla's troops could not conquer Bhopal because of their internal dissensions, and the help which Nawab Wazir Mohammad Khan procured from the Pindaris buttressed his position considerably, and later on the sheltering arm of the British saved the state from virtual extinction. In this triangular conflict the British policy was evolved according to the pressure of the circumstances. They wanted to compose the differences between the Rajah of Nagpur and the Nawab of Bhopal. They did not allow the Nawab to retain the seized districts of Rajah's territories, and lastly were desirous of keeping good relations with the Nagpur Chief. When the Rajah of Nagpur refused to contract Subsidiary Alliance,[60] the East India Company thought of various measures to maintain political stability in that area, and checkmated for good the designs of these two Maratha Chiefs to annex Bhopal. Subsequently the British Government wanted an ally for the suppression of the perdatory system in Central India and contemplated an alliance with Bhopal to connect their military stations in Bundelkhand with those of Berar[61] and it was consistent with their policy of "the pacification of India under British hegemony."[62] However the connection of Wazir Mohammad with the British Government never

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56 Letter from R. Jenkins. Resident, Nagpur to J. Adam, Secretary to Government, dated 29th October, 1814.

60 Malcolm, *Political History of India*, vol. I, 1784-1823, p. 447.

61 *Ibid.*

62 S. J. Owen. (A Selection from the Despatches, Treaties, and other Papers of the Marquess of Wellesley.) Survey, p. xxiv.

63 C. U. Aitchison—"*Treaties, Engagements and Sanads,*" vol IV, p. 305

ripened into any formal engagement during his lifetime.[63] The Indian States were gradually made to realize the changed political climate which was brought about by the East India Company's Governor-Generals and policy-makers, "the distinct relations of supremacy and subordination,"[64] which patterned the relationship between the two in future.

John A. Ramalingam

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[64] *The Cambridge History of India,* Vol. V, p. 588.

Domestic Life in the 16th Century as Reflected in the Literature of Sūr Dās

Houses

During the time of Sūr Dās the rich people lived in palatial buildings which were termed as Mahals[1] or Bhavanas[2]. Attached to these buildings in a number of cases were orchards or small gardens[3]. The mention of the words Gṛha[4] and Ālaya[5] in Sūr literature seems to have been made for the houses of the middle class people in the towns and that of Maḍayiā[6] for the thatched houses of the common people in the villages.

Sūr Dās has made no mention of the number of rooms and other peculiarities of the houses of his day excepting the fact that the city houses had court-yards[7], balconies[8] and windows[9].

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[1] Sūr Sāgar, 10-3025; 10-31: महल मैं जाइ कै।

[2] *Ibid*,, 9-49; 10-33: नंद भवन मैं आई।

[3] They were termed as upavanas; Bāgh; and Phulwāri: *Sūr Sāgar.* 10-78: व्रज-जुवतिनि उपवन मैं पाए। *Ibid.*, 9-91: 10-2864: फुलवारी

[4] Sūr Sāgar, 10-33: आजु गृह नंद महर कैं वधाई।

[5] *Ibid.*, 10-121: मनिमय मुनि नंद कै आलय।

[6] *Ibid.*, 10-4235:

Dubois: *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies*, 324; According to Dubois, the houses, particularly in the country, were thatched with straw and had mud walls.)

[7] *Ibid*,, 10-121: वाल विनीद आंगन की डेलनि। Cf. Dubois, 324.

[8] *Ibid.*, 10-3025: कीउ महलनि पर कीउ धज्जनि पर।

[9] Chhitswami, 56: He uses the word JHAROKHA which means a small window, an apperture or chink in the wall.

Cf. Dubois, 324: Whereas Chhitswami and Parmānand Dās have referred to Jharokas in the houses, Dubois in the 18th century India observed houses which were dark and windowless.

Dress

The common names in vogue for clothes in the time of Sūr Dās were Vastra[10] and Vasan[11], Chīr[12] and Ambar[13].

Among the lower garments used by the Hindu boys in the 16th century in northern India were Kachhni[14] or Kāchhni[15], Suthan[16] and Pitāmbar[17]. The first was a shorter dhoti coming down to the knees, one end of which was passed through the legs and tucked in the cloth in the back side. Suthan was a sort of trousers or pyjāmā. Pitāmbar was a silken dhoti worn usually at the time of worship.

Jhagā[18] which was the usual dress of the boys was a sort of loose shirt. Besides, they wore Bāge[19] which was a long robe coming down to the knees and having three straps at the breast[20].

Uparainā[21] or Uparnā[22], Nichol[23] and Pamari[24] were three different names for dopattā or the classical Uttarīya. It used to be a long and relatively narrow piece of cloth. It kept hanging over the left shoulder, was passed round the back, under the right arm and then taken over the left shoulder. In this manner one end used to hang in front of and another behind the body on the left[25]. This also formed a part of the boys' dress.

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[10] Sūr Sāgar, 9-36.

[11] *Ibid.*, 10-38.

[12] *Ibid.*, 10-758.

[13] *Ibid.*, 10-36.

[14] *Ibid.*, 10-634.

[15] *Ibid.*, 10-2826.

[16] *Ibid.*, 10-44.

[17] *Ibid.*, 9-44; 10-625.

[18] *Ibid.*, 10-39. It was known also as jhāguli. *Ibid.*, 10-39.

[19] *Ibid.*, 10-39. 10-95.

[20] *Cf.* Dubois, 323. He found the Hindus wearing a long coat of fine muslin or calico. Brāhmins, he observes, fastened their coats on the left side. Usually they wore a cotton cloth without hem or stich and 10 or 12 feet long.

[21] Sūr Sāgar, 10-8.

[22] *Ibid.*, 10-1124.

[23] *Ibid.*, 10-94; 10-1457.

[24] *Ibid.*, 10-1457.

[25] Anand Coomaraswami, *Rajput Paintings*, pp. 25, 26. *Cf. Rajput Paintings* nos. XXXVIII and XLVII

Ibid. Mughal Paintings nos. XIII and XXXIII

Men wore dhoti[26] and pītāmbar[27], patukā[28] and pichhorā.[29] Dhoti as a lower garment formed the essential part of classical Hindu culture and has been in use in India since the Vedic period. It was a piece of cloth measuring about five yards. It was passed round the body and tucked in at the waist whence it hang in close pleats. The first end was taken between the legs and tucked in at back.[30]

Pītāmbar was a silken dhoti worn at the time of worship. Patukā or pichhorā was a sash bound round the waist with ends hanging and was worn over the dhoti.[31]

The head-dress of both boys and men used to be turban or cap. Turban was known as Pāg or Pagiyā[32]. The history of turban can be traced back to the Vedic times when it was known as Uṣṇīsh in Sanskrit literature. Since then it has been in vogue among all classes of the people in India[33]. It was a typical head-dress of both Hindus and Muslims as shown in the 17th and 18th century paintings. The narrow and long turbans have been the characteristic of almost all Rajput paintings[34].

Cap or topī was termedas Kulhi or Kulahiyā[35]. It was in use in India in the first century B.C. In the third century A.D. the cap was mainly worn by the foreigners who used it in the Kuṣāna and Gupta periods as well[36].

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[26] Sūr Sāgar, 10-3827, 10-44. *Cf.* Dubois, 323.

[27] *Ibid.*, 10-625; 10-1502.

[28] Chaturbhuj Dās, 287.

[29] Sūr Sāgar, 9-20.

[30] A. Coomaraswami, Boston Catalogue, *Rajput Paintings*, p. 25. *Cf.* Paintings nos. XXXVIII and XLVII

[31] *Ibid.*, p. 29.

[32] Sūr Sāgar, 10-1371 ; 10-3060. *Cf.* Petermundy, ii, 10-111 ; Mandelslo, 53, 64; De Laet, 80-81; Pyrard, ii, 137 ; Della Valle, 410-12 ; Bernier, 240.

[33] Moti Chandra, Prācīn Bhāratīya Veśabhūṣā, 19-20; 37; 68; 77; 104.

[34] Rajput Paintings by Coomaraswami, Paintings nos. IV, V, XLV, XLVI.

[35] Sūr Sāgar, 10-132; 108; *Cf.* Āin, i, 88-89.

[36] Prācin Bhāratiya Veśabhūṣā, 77, 109.

In the Kangrā valley paintings caps of various forms, conical or with earflaps have been shown[37].

Female Attire

Among the clothes worn by the girls were chunri[38] or chunariyā[39] as head-dress, phariyā[40], a short skirt and suthan[41], a sort of trousers. According to Anand Coomaraswami, it was adopted by Hindu women under Mughal influence and was worn under jāguli (a complete dress combining bodice and skirt[42]).

Women's costume comprised bodice or chemise, sāri and lahangā, orhani or dopattā. Bodice was known by the different names of kancuki and choli, angiyā or angi. This "pair of hollow cups or cases[43]" has been in vogue in India since the days of the Vedas when it was known as kancuki or kancuk[44]. It was tight-fitting, shaped bodice, covering the wearer's breasts and having very short sleeves. It was fastened with strings at the back[45]. In case of choli the back was left bare and in that of angiyā it was covered[46].

Sāri, termed as Sati or Satika in Sanskrit literature, has been the typical costume of Hindu ladies since the Vedic times.[47] Usually it was eight yards long. In the Rajput paintings of all periods it has been shown worn over the skirt and choli. The lower part was arranged like a dhoti, hanging in close folds down in front, forming an over-skirt with a gathering of narrow vertical folds.[48] The right piece of cloth is passed under the left arm and over the head forming a veil or anchal[49] and then hangs down over the right shoulder. When the women wore sāri without choli, they drew it across the breast from right to left and tucked it into the skirt band on the left.[50] A popular variety referred to by Sūr Dās was Tansukh Sāri.[51] He has made mention of surang,[52] panchrang,[53] jhūmak[54] and patori[55] (silken) śāris. They also used dhigni[56] or śārī with red border.

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[37] *Rājput Paintings*, Painting no. XVI.

[38] Sūr Sāgar, 10-784.

[39] Chaturbhuj Das, 25.

[40] Sūr Sāgar, 10-708; 10-1054.

[41] *Ibid.*, 1054.

[42] Anand Coomaraswami, *Rajput Paintings*, pp. 35-36,

[43] Stavorinus, i, 415; Grosse, i, 142-43; *Some Aspects of Society and Culture* by Chopra, p. 11.

[44] Prācin Bhāratiya Veśabhūsā, p. 37.

[45] A. Coomaraswami, *Rajput Paintings*, p. 32.

[46] *Ibid*. Mughal Paintings for Angiya, plates IX to XIX.

[47] Moti Chandra, Prācin Bhāratiya Veśabhūṣā, p. 37.

Lahangā or Ghāgrā which is in common use in many parts of India even today was a skirt gathered at the waist more or less full. In some cases it used to be made of material as long as twenty-five yards. It was worn with choli and sarī or dopattā. Some women wore it over trousers.[57] It can be traced back to the Kuṣāṇa period.[58]

Orhani was the classical uttarīya or modern dopattā and has been in use in India since ancient times.[59] It was a scarf or long narrow shawl usually of transparent muslin. Women wore it over the breast and head as a veil covering their face partly or completely. Dopattā was worn with skirt and cholī.[60]

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[48] A. Coomaraswami, *Rajput Paintings* p. 31.

[49] *Ibid.*, Cf. Sūr Sāgar, 10-1653.

[50] A. Coomaraswami, *Rajput Paintings*, p. 31. Cf. Paintings no. CLXX. Cf. In *Mughal Paintings* by the same author. Plates IX to XIX.

[51] Sūr Sāgar, 10-3817.

[52] Caturbhuj Dās, 126.

[53] Sūr Sāgar, 10-1049.

[54] *Ibid.*, 10-2794.

[55] *Ibid.*, Venkaṭeshwar Press, 1332; 2452.

[56] *Ibid.*, 10-694.

[57] *Ibid.*, 10-2910. Cf. *Rajput Paintings*; *Mughal Paintings* nos. CCCIV; CCCX.

[58] Moti Chandra, p. 125.

[59] Sūr Sāgar, 10-693; 695. 1114. Moti Chandra, p. 81.

[60] Coomaraswamī, *Rajput Paintings*, nos. CCCIV and CCCX.

Suthan was a pair of trousers used by men and women.[61] The typical form depicted in the Mughal and Rajput paintings is tight and wrinkled below the knee known as chūridār. It can be dated back to the Kuṣāṇa period.[62]

Ornaments

Sūr Dās has mentioned a number of ornaments that the boys and women of his day used to put on to decorate their bodies. The boys wore different jewels for the different parts of their bodies.

Dur was a pendant worn after the ear-piercing or kanchhedan ceremony.[63]

Among the ornaments of neck were Kaṭhūlā,[64] Padik,[65] Mālā[66] or necklace and makar[67]-kuṇḍala. Kaṭhūla known also as Kaṭhla was a necklace made of the Bajarbaṭṭū plant and worn by the boys as a charm to ward off the evil eye. Padik was a neck ornament with the figure of some god's feet on it. Makar-kuṇḍal was a necklace of the shape of an alligator. Keyūr[68] was an armlet worn on the boys' upper arm, and chūrā[69] was a bracelet for the wrist. Round the waist of the boys there used to be a chain of gold or silver known as kardhani.[70]

Women's Jewellery

Sūr Dās holds testmimony to the fact that the women of his day were exceedingly fond of adorning their bodies with a variety of ornaments. He has mentioned the jewels worn by them for the different parts of their bodies.

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[61] Sūr Sāgar, 1054; Coomaraswami, *Rajput Paintings*, 29. Cf. *Mughal Paintings*. Plates, XI, XV, XVII.

[62] Moti Chandra, 114.

[63] Sūr Sāgar, 10-180. *Cf.* A, Coomaraswami, *Rajput Paintings*, p. 23.

[64] *Ibid.*, 10-84; 10-148.

[65] *Ibid.*, 10-106.

[66] *Ibid.*, 10-110.

[67] *Ibid.*, 10-704.

[68] *Ibid.*, 10-512.

[69] *Ibid.*, 10-89.

[70] *Ibid.*, 10-184.

They bedecked their feet with many kinds of ornaments although Sūr Dās has referred only to four or five. They were Ghunghrū, Jehri, Nūpur, Painjani, Bidhiyā and Bichhiyā or Bichhwāh.

Ghunghrūs were small golden bells usually six on each ankle and strung upon silk.[71]

Jehri or Jehar was an ornament for the ankle consisting of three golden rings.[72]

The other anklets were Nūpur[73] and Painjanai.[74]

Among the ornaments for the toes were Bichhiyā[75] or Bichhwā and Bidhiyā.[76]

Chhudra Gantika or Chhudra-Khantika[77] was a gold wire on which were strung golden bells and which was twisted round the waist of the ladies. Chhudrāwali[78] was perhaps another name for the same.

Kiṅkiṇi was a waist-band with small bells worn round the waist.[79]

For their wrists they had Chūrā,[80] Kaṅkan,[81] Pahunchiya,[82] and Balayai.[83]

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[71] Sūr Sāgar, 10-2862. *Cf.* Āin, III, 344.

[72] Sūr Sāgar, 10-1439. *Cf.* Āin, III, 344. A. Coomaraswami, *Rajput Paintings*, p. 30.

[73] Sūr Sāgar, 10-1058. *Ibid.*, 10-1180. Sūr Sāgar, Appendix 11. See also A. Coomaraswami, *Rajput Paintings*, p. 30.

[74] Sūr Sāgar, 10-1058. 10-1085.

[75] *Cf.* Dubois, p. 342. To him some anklets appeared as veritable fetters. Sūr Sāgar, 10-1058.

[76] Sūr Sāgar, 10-1058. *Cf.* Dubois, 342. He saw special rings for each toe covering them entirely. Usually they wore silver ornaments on the toes.

[77] Sūr Sāgar, 10-154 ; *Ibid.*, 10-2158. *Cf.* Āin, III, 344.

[78] Sūr Sāgar, 10-541.

[79] Sūr Sāgar, 10-1058. *Cf. Rajput Paintings*, p. 30.

[80] Sūr Sāgar, 10-2901 ; *Ibid.*, 10-3519.

[81] *Ibid.*, 10-2901. *Cf.* A Coomaraswami, *Rajput Paintings*, 30.

[82] *Ibid.*, 10-451; 10-1069.

[83] *Ibid.*, 1-69; 10-1475.

Chūrā, according to the Āin, was a bracelet worn round the wrist. Chūris were ordinary bangles worn between the larger kinds of bracelets and were little thinner than the ordinary bracelets.[84]

Pahunchiya or Pahunchi was made with a number of hollow bells of gold or silver, bunched together and fastened with strings. The bells were usually engraved.[85]

Balayiya was yet another bracelet for the wrist.[86]

Angūṭhi[87] or Mudrikā[88] was a signet ring worn round the finger.

The ornaments for the arm were Bāzūband, Tād or Tānd and Bahuntā or Bahutā. Bāzūband[89] was an armlet worn on the upper arm. Tad[90] or Tānd was also known as Bara. It was a sort of hollow circle worn round the arm and below the bāzūband. Bahuntā[91] was yet another armlet used by the ladies.

Kanchan Hār, Kanṭh Shri and Khangwaro were the jewels which bedecked the necks of the women of the 16th century. Kāñchan or Candan Hār was a necklace of strings of pearls interconnected with golden roses. It is perhaps known as Naulakhā Hār, neck chains or rosaries of various designs.[92] Kanṭh-Shri used to be an ordinary flexible necklet of various designs, fastened with a thread round the neck.[93] Khangwaro was yet another sort of necklace worn by the ladies.[94]

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[84] Āin, III, 344. *Cf.* Pyraid, I, 377. See also Coomaraswami's *Rajput Paintings*, p. 30.

[85] Sūr Sāgar, 10-451; 10-1069. *Cf.* Dubois, 342; Ornaments of U. P. By A. P. Charles.

[86] *Ibid.*, 1-69; 10-1475.

[87] *Ibid.*, 9 86; *Cf.* Āin, III, 344.

[88] *Ibid.*, 10-1053.

[89] *Ibid.*, 10-1540. *Cf.* Āin, III, 344. Manucci, II, 340.

[90] *Ibid.*, 10-4060.

[91] *Ibid* , 10-1540.

[92] *Ibid.*, 10-216; *Cf.* Āin, III, 344; Manucci, II, 339-40.

[93] Sūr Sāgar, 10-1043.

[94] *Ibid.*, Appendix 8. *Cf.* Dubois, *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies*, 342. According to him neck ornaments in the 18th century

Ornaments with which the women adorned their noses were termed as Natḥ, Besari and Būlāk.

Nath[95] was a golden circlet with a ruby between two pearls or some other jewels or jewelled flowers. It was worn in the left nostril.

Besar or Besari[96] was a broad piece of gold to the upper ends of which a pearl was attached. At the other end a golden wire was clasped on to the pearl which hang from the nose by a gold wire.

Bulāk[97] was a pendant worn on the septum of the nose.

Sūr Dās has mentioned as many as six ornaments which the women of his day used for their ears. Karṇaphūl[98] was a large flower-like ornament worn on the lower part of the ear. According to the Āin, it was a Magrelā-shaped ear-flower.[99]

Biriya or Bira was an ornament of the same character as Karṇaphūl and is used even today in the eastern districts of Uttar Pradesh.[100]

Jhūmak[101] or Jhumaka was a pendant (bell-shaped) to the

India consisted of gold or silver chains, or strings of large beads, pearls or coral. Rich ladies in the south wore necklaces more than an inch wide, set with rubies, emerald and other precious stones.

[95] Sūr Sāgar, 10-1498; 10-2027; 10-2131; *Cf.* Āin, III, 344; De Laet, 81; Mandelslo, 50; Coomaraswami, *Rajput Paintings*, p. 30. Budois, 342: He says that it was an ornament weighting the right nostril and the division between the two nostrils. It hang down as far as the upper lip.

[96] Sūr Sāgar, 10-72; *Cf.* Āin, III, 343; Petermundy, II, 192; Coomaraswami, *Rajput Paintings*, p. 30.

[97] *Ibid.*, Appendix, 1-11.

[98] *Ibid.*, 10-2189; 10-2610; 10-3815; *Cf. Rajput Paintings*, p. 30. nos. CCCX and CCCXCVIII.

[99] Āin, III, 343. Sarkar has translated the magrelā as kālā zirā.

[100] Sūr Sāgar, 10-1611; 10-1813; *Cf.* Ornaments of U. P. By A. P. Charles.

[101] Sūr Sāgar, 10-1180. *Cf. Rajput Paintings*, p. 29. It was known also as Sir Māng.

Karṇaphūl. Avatans,[102] Khubhi,[103] Tarivan,[104] and Tāṭank[105] were still other ornaments used for the decoration of the ear. Avatans was an ear-ring, Khubhi was a golden nail for the ear, Tarivān or Tāṭank was a Karṇphūl also called Tarki.

Bendi[106] or Bandi was an ornament consisting of a flower on the centre of the forehead. It had two chains which joined it to the karṇphūl. Āin mentions it as an ornament smaller than a gold mohar and worn on the forehead.[107] Chandak[108] was yet another ornament for the forehead.

Among the ornaments used for the decoration of the head were Tīkā, Māngpatī and Candrikā.

Māngpatī or Māng was worn on the parting of the hair to add to its beauty.[109] Tīkā[110] or forehead-pendant was a jewel of the shape of a star or crescent worn on the head.

Candrikā[111] was also another ornament of the head.

Yet another popular jewel was Ṣīshphūl[112] resembling the marigold.

Food

The people in general took two chief meals and two breakfasts, one in the forenoon and another in the afternoon. The morning breakfast was called Kalewā or Kaleyu[113] as is the practice even today in many parts of Uttar Pradesh. It consisted of a variety of fruits and sweets, besides bread and butter, milk or curd.[114] They had a preference at breakfast time for the bread made of wheat and gram flour.[115]

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[102] *Ibid.*, 10-2612; *Cf. Rajput Paintings*, p. 30.

[103] Sūr Sāgar, 10-1055.

[104] *Ibid.*, 10-2445.

[105] *Ibid.*, 10-3915.

[106] *Ibid.*, 10-2628.

[107] Āin., III, 343.

[108] Sūr Sāgar, 10-1439.

[109] *Ibid.*, 10-1042.

[110] *Ibid.*, 10-1540. *Cf. Rajput Paintings*, p. 29.

[111] Sūr Sāgar, 10-97.

[112] Govind Dās, 204; Parmānand Dās, 233. *Cf.* Dubois. He found the ladies usually wearing in the hair ornaments of gold with silver buckles to fasten the hair together at the back.

[113] Sūr Sāgar, 10-183; 10-211-212; 10-810.

It was natural for the poor people to have a simple breakfast and lunch and dinner. It was different however in the case of the well-to-do. They enjoyed a rich luncheon consisting of a large variety of eatables spread over a different number of items. Sūr Dās had taken pains to mention the names of the vegetables cooked and fruits taken at this principal meal of the Indians during his time.[116] It stands to reason to believe that the people took these vegetables and fruits according to their purchasing power and the availability of the articles in the different seasons.

Days being long during the larger number of months in the year, the Indians, like their brethren today, took something in the afternoon by way of breakfast. It was known as Chhāk[117] and consisted of certain cooked preparations, honey and curd and dry fruits[118] suiting the capacity of the individuals and the families.

Dinner they called by the name of Biyāri.[119] Sūr's contemporaries, Parmānand Dās and Govind Dās, called it as Byārū[120] or Biyārū.[121] As in the case of the luncheon, dinner was also a rich meal comprising many vegetables, fruits and sweets.[122]

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[114] *Ibid.*, 10-183; They are: दूध, मखन, दही, अमृत पकौरी, जलेबी, खुरमा, शकरपारे, लड्डू, मालपूड़ा, अंदरसा, खजूरी, पुरी । *Ibid.*, 10-212. खारिक, दाख, चिरौंजी, किशमिश, बादाम, सेब, छुहारे, पिस्ता, मेवा, पटरस के मिष्टान्न । *Ibid*, 10-211. खोपरा, खीरा, केला, आम, ऊखरस, खुबानी, चिडरा, द्रेनी ! *Ibid*, 10-810. खुरमा खाजा गुंझा मटरी ।

[115] *Ibid.*, 10-1213.

रीटी रुचिर कनक बेसन करि
अजवाइन, सेंधौ मिलाइ धरि ।

[116] *Ibid.*, 10-1213. He mentions the following articles: खीर, खीचड़ी, मूंग, माखन ; कचोरी, तोरईनु सेम, साग, चना, चौलाई, वथुआ पेंठा, रतौला, खीरा, ककरी, कचनार, राइता पकौड़ी, खट्टी कढ़ी, करेला, लुचइ, लापसी, मालपुरा, अंदरसे, । पापर, वरी, अचार, परम सुचि । अदरख आरु निवुआनि ढै है रुचि ।

[117] *Ibid*, 10-457: प्रेम सहित ले चली छाक वह ।

[118] Sūr Sāgar, 10-456: सद माखन साजो दधि मीठी, मधुमेवा, पकवान ।

[119] *Ibid.*, 10-844.

Indians have always been exceedingly fond of spices to make their vegetables more tasteful and our ancestors in Sūr's time formed no exception to the general rule.[123] People used both ghee and edible oil for the preparation of pulses and vegetables.[124] They made use of butter and cream in abundance.[125] As accessories to meals they included pāpars, karelā, and lemon[126] in the menu. To add to the taste of meals they used camphor.[127]

From time immemorial the chewing of betel leaf has been a national habit of the Indians. Barring the exception of a few provinces, the majority of the people have been quite fond of it. From the prince to the peasant every one liked the betel leaf which was in common use by Indians of all classes.[128] Sūr Dās and his contemporaries have given copious references to the use of betel leaf in their time. It was taken after every meal, on religious and other occasions, and frequently in the day. It was known by the different names of Pān, Tambol or Bīrā.[129]

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[120] Parmānand Dās, 705; Chaturbhuj Dās, 283.

[121] Parmānand Das, 708; Govind Dās, 283.

[122] Sūr Sāgar, 10-226; Sūr Sāgar, 10-227. They were:

खीर, खांड, घृत, लावनि, लाडू.............लुचई, लापसी, घेवर, खाजा। पेठापाठ, जलेबी, कौरी, गोंदपाक, तिनगरी, गिंदौरी, गुझा, इलाचीपाक, अमिरती, सीरा, साजौ लेहु बजमति छोलि धरे खरबूज़ा, केरा......खरिक, दाख, अरु गरी, चिरारी, पिंदवदाम......बेसनपुरी सुखपुरी लीजै, आधौ दूध कमल मुख पीजै।

फेनी, सेब, अंदरसे, भात, मूंग, मसूर, उरद, पोरी, चौराई, नींबु।

[123] Sūr Dās has mentioned the following items of spices: हींग, हरद, मिर्च, अदरव, आंवरे अजवाइन, राई सोंठ: Sūr Sāgar, 10-396, 183, 1213. He makes mention of the use of IMLI also. Sūr Sāgar, 10-1213: भरता भंटा खटाई दीनी। अरु इमली दई खटाई—Sūr Sāgar, 10-396, 10-1924.

[124] Sūr Sāgar, 10-1213.

[125] *Ibid.*, 10-396, 10-1924.

[126] *Ibid.*, 10-396, 10-1213.

[127] *Ibid.*, 10-396. सालन सकल कपूर सुवासित।

[128] Mandelslo, 33; Manucci, I, 33; Dubois, 230.

Drinks

The main favourite drink of the people was water. As a rule they used well-water.[130] Those who lived on the banks of the rivers, never felt the necessity of digging wells.[131] In order to give the water a better smell, they would make use of camphor.[132]

Throughout the ages milk has been an important national drink and there are frequent references to the use of milk in the contemporary Hindi literature.[133].

We get indirect reference from Sūr Dās to the use of wine also. He describes wine drinking as one of the five characteristic features of Kaliyug indicating thereby that wine was quite in vogue at that time.[134]

Women's Toilet

Āin. has mentioned as many as sixteen items for a woman's toilet. They included regular bath, anointing of their bodies, decoration of their hair and bodies with jewels, forehead with tilak, eyebrows with collyrium, hands with dye and lips with betel leaf.[135]

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[129] Biri: Sūr Sāgar, 10-183. Tamol: *Ibid.*, 10-211. Pān: *Ibid.*, 10-396; 10-1014: उज्ज्वलपान, कपूर, कस्तूरी। Biri, *Ibid.*, 10-1213, 424; पीरेपान पुराने धीरा ; 10-1213. Tamor, *Ibid.*, 10-966 Tambol, *Ibid.*, 9-74.

[130] Sūr Sāgar, 10-396. Dubois, 187: Besides water, curdled milk diluted with water formed a favourite drink of the people. *Ibid.*, 1-168, 2-9, 10-1213.

[131] *Ibid.*, 1-168: परम गंग को छांडि पियासौ दुरमति कूप खनावै। *Ibid.*, 2-9: बसत सुरसरि तीर मंदमति कूप खानावैं। *Ibid.*, 10-396: जमुना जल……

[132] *Ibid.*, 10-1213: सीतल जल कपूर रस रचयौ।

[133] *Ibid.*, 10·396: धोरी नौ पय... *Ibid.*, 10-1213:
फेनी धुरि मिसि मिलि दूध संग।

[134] *Ibid.*, 1-190: कही हरि विमुख वेस्या जहां, सुरपान वधिकनि गृहन। जुआ खेलत जहां जुआरी, ये पांचों हैं ठौर तुम्हारी। *Ibid.*, 9-75: नाना रूप

Sūr Dās all but endorses the observations of his contemporary, Abul Fazl. About the jewels which a woman of his times used for the different parts of her body, a separate mention has already been made above. In order to beautify their person the women used before bath ubatan,[136] a paste made of barley flour, oil and turmeric (haldi). The Hindu women and men took their bath[137] with religious regularity. For the purpose of massage, oil was used.[138] After the bath the ladies would anoint their bodies with various fragrant ingredients such as Agru, Agraja and Camphor.[139]

Women liked to keep long hair and wore them in plaits.[140] To leave the hair loose was regarded as an ill omen.[141] In order to make them glossy and silky they used fragrant oils.[142] They would part their hair in the middle and use vermillion in the parting unless they were widows.[143]

With a view to darkening their eyelids they applied collyrium and antimony.[144]

निसाचर अद्भुत सदा करत मदपान । Dubois, 187: According to him drunkenness was looked down upon as degrading and impious vice, although he found men of lowest classes consuming drinks publicly.

[135] Āin, III, 342-43.

[136] Sūr Sāgar, 10-184, 10-1072, 10-1166, 10-1000.

[137] *Ibid.*,

[138] *Ibid.*, 1-52.

[139] *Ibid.*, 10-1075. 2728, 3601, 3937. Dubois, *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies*, 342, He saw ladies rolling up their hair behind into a sort of chignon which was fastened behind the left ear. Cf. Manucci, III, 40. also *Travels in India in the 17th Century* by Fryer & Ros, 182.

[140] Sūr Sāgar, 10-1166, 10-2612, 10-2628, They used to like curly hair known as Alak or Kuntal. Sūr Sāgar, 1703, 3404.

[141] Sūr Sāgar, 10-2628.

[142] *Ibid.*, 385, 20-105.

[143] *Ibid.*, 10-2849. 2118, 10-24. *Cf. Rajput Paintings*, p. 29. Manucci II, 340.

[144] Sūr Sāgar, 10-2860. *Cf.* Coomaraswami, *Rajput Paintings*, p. 29. Dubois, 341.

In order to beautify their feet they applied a red solution known as Yāvak[145] and Mahāvar.[146]

On their head they used to have tilak or bindi[147] and on their chins they applied a black sign known as til.[148]

Toilet could not be complete without the looking-glass which was termed as darpaṇa, ārsi or mukur.[149]

Flowers used to play an important role in the life of the people. The ladies were quite fond of flowers and made use of them for various purposes. Sweet-smelling flowers were used in the hair[150] and also for the decoration of their bodies.[151]

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[145] *Ibid.*, 10-54.

[146] *Ibid.*, 10-40, 10-1180. *Cf.* Coomaraswami, *Rajput Paintings*, p.29.

[147] *Ibid.*, 10-1053, 1055, 1076, 1611, 1702-3, 2118, 2842.

[148] *Ibid.*, 10-1043, 2621, 2118.

[149] *Ibid.*, 10-1191. Barbers had mirrors of steel. *Cf. Travels in India in the 17th c.*, 450. Della Valle, 376-77. See also *Travels in 17th c.*, p. 447. *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*, II, 685.

[150] Dubois, 342.

[151] Sūr Sāgar 10-1917, 10-2892.

Viṣṭi (Forced Labour) in Ancient India

A detailed analysis of the evidences of the *AŚ*, other allied technical and non-technical literatures and the epigraphic and archaeological materials, reveals to us that the institution of Viṣṭi or forced labour was fairly common in ancient India. The state or the king did usually utilise its right to the free service as and when occasions demanded. Among the various types of oppressive taxes, listed in our ancient texts and inscriptions, Viṣṭi is one of them. The system is yet in vogue in different parts of the country and is commonly known in Hindi language as *Begārī*. Monier-Williams has translated this word as "Forced Labour or Service, Compulsory work and Drudgery."[2] He has used the terms like *Viṣṭi, Viṣṭikara and Viṣṭikṛta*. The medieval Lawgiver, Lakṣmidhara, has explained it as "Labour forcibly recruited."[3] In the *Amarakoṣa*,[4] the word *Viṣṭi* is a synonym for *Ājū*, also accepted by Monier-Williams. Viṣṭi also stands for *corvee* labour. Viṣṭi and Ājū are grouped together and are classed as hell in the *Amarakoṣa*, where these two terms have been taken as some form of punishment in the nether[5] world. It may be noted here that in the *Amarakoṣa*, it is not mentioned in connection with the Kṣatriyas who should have exacted it from the

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[1] Cf. *Sabdārtha-Kaustubha* p. 793.

[2] M. Williams, *Sanskrita-English Dictionary*, p. 996 ; 133 ; He has defined it as servants, slaves and herdsmen on the authority of the *Mahābhārata*, *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Bṛhadjjātakasaṃhitā* and the inscriptions. He further observes that according to some, the word is derived from the root *VI* and is to be equated with the word abhipariṣṭi of the Ṛkveda. Nilakaṇṭha also mentions Viṣṭikara. In his *English-Sanskrita Dictionary* (p. 432), M. Williams has translated unpaid Labour as Viṣṭi & Aju. These two words are synonymous.

[3] *Rājadharmakāṇda*, pp. 93-95 Balātkārṇa-ākṛṣṭa-karmakāḥ.

[4] *Amarakoṣa*, I. 9. 3.

[5] *Sabdārthakaustubha*, 124 ; Cf. *JOR*, XXIV, pp. 59-60. All these sources also refer to *Viṣṭikṛta* indicating servant, slave or bondsmen.

Śūdras along with other taxes. The position taken by the Chinese travellers in the fifth century A. D. in this regard stands confirmed by the statement of the *Amarakoṣa*. In the yearly Nepalese inscriptions, we come across a term known as *Bhoṭa-Viṣṭi*. The criterion of taxability in ancient India is based on principles and postulates formulated by our ancient Indian writers. Everybody capable of doing work is to be taxed either in the fruits of his labour or in the unpaid labour for the state. The levy of Viṣṭi from those unable to pay in cash illustrates this principle. The oppressive condition under which an ordinary man lived in ancient India is evident from a stanza, no. 1175, preserved in Vidyakara's *Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa* (Edited by Kosambi and Gokhale and published by the Harvard Oriental Series). It shows as to how the villages were mercilessly oppressed. The word Viṣṭi is frequently mentioned in a number of inscriptions. In one of the Tibetan inscriptions of the eighth-ninth century A.D., there is a reference to the service by the people to the king and that is definitely an indication of *corvee* labour obtaining over there.[6]

As early as the Buddhist period, "Love-offering" was a royal prerogative.[7] On occasions like the birth of a prince or the coronation ceremony such presents were received from the people of all sorts.[8] Though the word Viṣṭi is not available from the Pali literature, or veṭha of modern times, there is a mention of the term *Paṇṇākara* signifying voluntary contributions. On the occasion of the coronation ceremony, described in the *Kummāsa-piṇḍa Jātaka*, we find the peoples and citizens surrounding the throne present with various kinds of presents and gifts (*Paṇṇakara*. For detail cf. Childers-*Pāli Dictionary*; Also Cf. Fick—*The Social Organisation of North Eastern India*, p. 115). Even in Buddhist period taxes were collected forcibly by king's officers (*Jātaka*-II.

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[6] H. E. Richardson, *Ancient Historical Edicts at Lhasa* (London, 1952), pp. 32 & 78.

[7] R. L. Mehta, *Pre-Buddhist India*, p. 129; he translates forced labour as *Rājakāriya*.

[8] *Jātaka*, II, 166; III, 408; IV, 323; VI, 42.

240; IV. 224; V. 98). The system of voluntary contribution was prevalent in the age of the *Jātakas* and there is quite a lot of reference to the utilisation of this contribution by the then rulers.[9] This contribution seems to have been of the same nature as Viṣṭi or free labour of the later period. Love-offering or the voluntary contributions have been regarded by Hopkins as being a "survival of the original free *Bali* or offering or a later natural addition to the regular tax."[10] This is further confirmed by the use of the term *Balibadaṁ* in later inscriptions signifying villagers' obligation to the king on occasions like marriage etc.[11] There are numerous references to oppressive taxes in the *Jātakas*.[12]

The *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭalya dwells at length on the various types of viṣṭi. He has drawn a long list of persons who come under the category of viṣṭi, for example, sweepers, preservers, those who weigh things, those who measure grains, those who supervise the work of measuring grams, those who supply commodities to the store-house, those who supervise such supplies, those who are employed to receive compensation for any real or supposed error in measuring grains etc. slaves, labourers, all are called viṣṭi.[13] In all the tax paying villages, a list of such persons as used to supply free labour or viṣṭi to the state seems to have been maintained in his time.[14] Bhaṭṭaswāmi, while commenting on a passage, says that one type of village was meant only for the supply of free labour in lieu of taxes and its inhabitants were employed in building fortresses.[15] Kauṭalyan state was a centralised one and dam and fort buildings were its important pre-occupations. Such constructions were to be carried out by peasants free of charge and in return they got the benefit of protection and water supply. The dependence of agriculture on irrigation explains the emphasis laid by the government and also for the rules laid down by Kauṭalya and Śūkra compelling rural bodies to maintain in efficient condition the tanks etc. That was possibly the reason why the people acquiesced in such encroachments on individual liberty as are implied in the levy of viṣṭi for the construction of reservoirs and tanks. The state, centralised as it was, fixed the number of men to be supplied by each family.

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[9] Mehta, *Op. cit.* p. 148 ; Cf. Prannath, *A Study of the economic condition in Ancient India*, p. 155 ; Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 49 ; *AS*, II, 1.

[10] *JAOS.*, XIII, 90-91 ; Cf. *Vedic Index*, II. 62.

[11] D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, p. 435, fn. 1.

[12] *Jātaka*, V, 98-99 ; VI, 212.

[13] *AS.*, II, 15.

[14] *Ibid*, II, 35.

[15] *JBORS*, XII, 198.

The rich persons generally used to send their slaves and if such slaves proved recalcitrant, it was the duty of king's men to make them work.[16] Kauṭalya specifically states "whoever stays from any kind of cooperative construction shall send his servants and bullock carts to carry on his work; shall have a share in the expenditure, but shall have no claim to profit."[17] Here an element of compulsion in extracting manual work without any share in the profit that might accrue from the cooperative construction is crystal clear and it is a typical example of exploitation of human labour, the yields of which would go to fill in the royal coffer. T. Ganpati Sastri is of opinion (1. 344) that this type of work was done by the *Karmakāras*. The class of *Dāsas* and *Karmakāras* is regarded as always liable to forced labour.[18] According to Kauṭalya, free labour is secured from the people.[19] The statement stands further confirmed by a Buddhist source wherein it has been suggested that *Dasa-Kammakaras*, deputed to work in a sacrifice, where all work is meritorious, worked under duress and also under the menace of severe punishment and fear.[20] The word *Āḍhaka* in the *AŚ* has been subjected to various interpretations by different scholars, in connection with the payment to the viṣṭi labour. It refers, if Shamasastri's translation is to be relied upon,[21] to payment in kind. He says "Substituting one Āḍhaka for the salary of 60 panas, payment in gold may be commuted for that in kind."[22] This has been accepted as such by another scholar of rèpute.[23] According to Kosambi, the salary of 60 paṇas a year being the lowest for visṭi drudges, one would expect that a man could feed himself for a year on one Āḍhaka of cereals and as such the question here is not of commutation but of bonus.[24] In view of the conflicting opinions, it is not possible in the present state of our knowledge to say anything definite on the point. It is not possible to decide whether this was the cause of badly remunerated employments dragging down the people employed in them or whether the lower real wages of the free labourers as compared with those of the slaves, furnished a social index of freedom, it is not possible to decide.[25] This was an age when landowners commanded the villagers to assemble at the formers' pleasure.[26] Even the *Jātakas* (I. 475; III. 325 446) refer to the wages in the form of food. The *Māsaka* or 1/4 of a copper paṇa could not have been sufficient for even a bare minimum living and as such drudgery of such labourers seems to have been their natural lot.

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[16] D. R. Chanana, *Slavery in Ancient India*, p. 99.

[17] *AŚ*, p. 46.

[18] *Ibid*, II, 15.

[19] *Ibid*, VIII, 1.

[20] *Majjhima-Nikāya*, 51.

[21] *AŚ*, II, 24 ; V, 3.

In the age of the Mauryas, visṭi was counted as one of the important resources both for the army and the kingdom. It indicated both forced labour and unpaid feudal *corvee*. The *AŚ* (II. 15) refers to the requisitioned labour service in lieu of taxes. Even in matters of colonisation, Kauṭalya would prefer domination of the lower castes as that would allow all sorts of exploitation. While in the earlier stages only slangs and hired labourers could be subjected to forced labour, later on it appears to have been a regular source of state income and an usual practice. Kauṭalya has referred to an officer known as *Viṣṭibandhaka* or the procurer of free labour.[27] While in the period of the *Dharmaśāstras* viṣṭi was mostly confined to the artisans,[28] under the Mauryas members of the lower orders were subjected to *corvee* labour. It may be borne in mind here that the term viṣṭi indicated drudge labour—perhaps compulsory but paid at the rate of five paṇas per month. That was only a nominal payment. The condition of such drudge labourers seem to have been simply appalling. Though it was paid, the payment differed from those employees who were regarded as paid servants. The Mauryan period must have seen a huge amount of free labour if we bear in mind the huge constructions in stones and reservoirs, building and other works of art. Such heavy constructions could not have been possible simply with the help of the regular employees. The actual meaning of the word *Saṃhanikā* (Siṃhanikā) would go a long way in solving the difficulties about the real meaning and import of the viṣṭi and the terms connected thereto, but it is crystal clear that the drudgery amounted to conditions obtaining in a period when viṣṭi had come to be recognised as an important source of income to the state. It seems that Kauṭalya has used the term viṣṭi in a wider and liberal sense. Words like Viṣṭipradāna, Koṣaviṣṭi, Viṣṭirvāhana, Karmantoviṣṭi, Viṣṭikarapratikaraṁ, Hiraṇyaviṣṭi, etc have been used by Kauṭalya.[29] The only control exercised by the state over the artisans in general lay in the imposition of a kind of *corvee.*[30] Manu regards forced labour as a regular levy. He has prescribed one day's free labour per month from the mechanics, artisans and Śūdras but he does not specify whether they are to be given food on that day or not.[31] Manu's arrangements approach very near to the proto-feudal[32] system. The Śūdras were the worst sufferers in his scheme. From the date when the forced labour came under the category of tax, it marked the beginning of a feudal *corvee.* Viṣṭi, thus, seems to have been a fairly common practice sanctioned by the ancient law-givers.[33] Gautama, Manu and Viṣṇu[34] prescribe it. According to Viṣṇu, they are given food for one day. Gautama also says that the free labourers are entitled to food while doing viṣṭi, Lakṣmidhara, with the approval of Gautama, has prescribed the supply of food. Śukra recommends that the king should make artists and artisans work one day in a fortnight[35] and sometimes even the Brāhamaṇas were forced to do it.[36] This practice was in vogue in the reign of Harṣa of Kasmir. According to the great Lawgiver, Laksmidhara, blacksmiths, porters, boatmen, owners of carriages, actors and dancers were liable to labour tax once a month[37] It seems that while this practice was mainly limited to *Karmakāras* in the *AŚ*, it was spread to others in the later period. The *Agnipurāṇa* prescribes that the king must provide food to those from whom forced labour is to be taken.[38]

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[22] *Ibid*, p. 278 ; Cf. Sircar, *Select Insc.* pp. 146-47.

[23] V. S. Agrawal, *India as known to Panini*, p. 237.

[24] D. D. Kosambi, *An Introduction to the study of Indian History*. p. 209 *fn*.

[25] K. V. R. Aiyangar, *Aspects of ancient Indian Economic Thought*, p. 110. The use of slaves (Bahiyā) on land by Maithila Brahmanas is confirmed by the two sale deeds in Sanskrit. Vidyāpati in his *Likhnāvali* has also mentioned this.

Cf. *JA*,. 1952, No. 2. Śrī Nathurama Premi has produced an earlier sale deed (V. S. 1288) referring to similar incident and such deeds have also been discovered in Bengal (Cf. *Jaina Sahitya aur Itihas*).

[26] Patanjali, III, 64.

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[27] *AS*, V. 3.

[28] R. S. Śarma, *Sūdras in ancient India*, 157 ; Cf. Rhys Davids, *Op. cit*, p. 49.

[29] *AS*, I, 4 ; II, 6 ; VIII, 1 ; V, 3 ; II, 35 ; II, 15 ; Cf. *IC*, XIV, 26 ; Megasthenes, *INDICA*, XII.

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[30] Śarma, *Op. cit.* p. 90.

[31] Manu, VII, 138.

[32] *Ibid*, X. 118.

[33] Gautama, 2. 1. 31 ; 2. 1. 35 ; Cf. Manu, VII, 137-8 & Gautama, IX, 31-33.

[34] Viṣṇu, III, 32 ; Cf, Vaśiṣtha, XIX, 28.

[35] Śukra, IV, 1, 92 ; IV, 2. 121 ; IV, 2. 241 ; Cf. *EI*, XX, 131. It refers to the practice of artisans working for the state for specified periods.

[36] The system of forced labour is prevalent in villages even today.

[37] Cf. *JRASB* (Series III), XVI, p. 121 for a similar type of forced labour.

[38] *Agnipurāṇa*, Chap. 223.

Viṣṭi marks the development of a definite stage of feudalism. Since a donee had the right to get his land cultivated by others, he could easily replace the old peasants by new ones.[39] They had the right to increase the amount of forced labour at their will and it seems that there was no limitation on the levy of viṣṭi.[40] We learn from the various inscriptions, discovered from different parts of India, that the donees were assigned the right to impose forced labour. In the *agrahāra* villages the beneficiaries enjoyed the right of levying forced labour. The earliest land grants belong to the first century B. C. In one of the Sātavāhana inscriptions, we see that Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi abandoned all administrative right and prescribed that the allotted lands would not be entered by royal troops.[41] Rūdradāmana finished the building of the Sudarsan lake to thrice the original size "without having plagued the regular town and country settlers with *corvee* labour, taxes or voluntary contributions."[42] *Paṇaya* of the *Junagadh Inscription* has been translated as benevolences by some scholars, though its exact meaning and significance are yet to be found out. Sometimes these free labourers were forced to work in connection with the repair of roads and bridges, rest houses and tanks. The state usually utilised its right to this free service and for this reason that Rūdradāmana boasts of having completed his magnificient lake without resorting to *corvee* labour or other voluntary contributions. The word *Achovināḥ* in one of the Central Asian Kharoṣṭhi documents has been connected with *Ajiva* or *Ājuḥ* by Thomas. If this identification be taken as correct then in that case it may be equated with *Ājū* of the *KS* but Dr. D.C. Sircar has rightly contradicted this assumption and has interpreted the word as signifying a kind

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39 *CII*, Introduction, p. clxxi.

40 *JIH*, XXXVII, p. 385ff; XXXVIII, 193ff; My article on "*Feudalism*".

41 Sircar, *Op. cit.* 192; 194-95.

42 *EI.*, VIII, 44; Cf. *JAOS*, Vol. 75, p. 225ff; Kosambi, *Op. cit.* p. 267; Cf. Altekar, *State and Government in ancient India* (Third Edition), p. 281.

of special messenger (Cf. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, p. 230, fn-2; pp. 242-43-fn-1; p. 245-fn-3 and p. 246-fn-1). *Sotapadyamānaviṣṭika* of the inscriptions has been translated by Mirashi as "with the right to forced labour arising therefrom."[43] It appears from the epigraphic records that with the extension of the scope of forced labour, it had come to stay as a regular practice along with its concomitants. If in the Mauryan period it was limited to a certain section of the populace, it was widened in the succeeding periods and its scope was further widened in the Gupta period when the term viṣṭi included all sorts of free labour service and obligations obtaining in a full fledged feudal society. It popularly came to be known as *Sarvaviṣṭi*,[44] which included all kinds of conceivable and inconceivable inhuman work and oppressive in nature against which there was no remedy either legal or extra-legal. The poor people had nothing but to thank their lot in the so-called golden age of Indian history when the scope of *corvee* labour had exceeded all bounds of limitations. We learn from Vātsāyana that it was first extended to peasant woman and then to the[45] menfolk. The *Āyuktas* imposed forced labour on peasant woman to serve their own ends.[46] The villagers had to make not only various kinds of contributions to royal troops and officials when they passed through the area but had also to perform forced labour of all varieties (Sarvaviṣṭi). The peasant women were forced to fill up the granaries of the village herdsmen.[47]

Viṣṭi is mentioned in a number of inscriptions. It is used in the sense of forced labour in the *Junagadh Rock Inscription*[48] of Rūdradāmana in the *Kaira plates*[49] of Dadda II (Kalachuri

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[43] *CII*, IV, 89 ; Cf. *Ibid*, 121, line 17 ; 21, line 27 ; 57, line 34.

[44] Dikshitar, *Gupta Polity*, p. 173.

[45] *KS*, V. 5. 5.

[46] *Ibid*.

[47] Cf. *JBRS*, XLIV, pts. 3 & 4 ; Cf. *G. D. College Bulletin Series*, No. 4, R. S. Sarma's article.

[48] *EI*. VIII, 36.

[49] *CII*, IV, Insc. No. 16.

Era 380), in the *Chamak CP*,[50] in the *Sivani CP*[51] of Pravarasena II, in the *Rithapur CP*[52] of Prabhābatigupta, *Raipur plates* of Sudevarāja; *Palitana plates*[53] of Dharasena II, in the *Navalakhi plates*[54] of Siladitya *Vallabhi grant*[55] of Dhruvasena III, *Ganesgadh plate*[56] of Dhruvasena I and in a number of other inscriptions. We learn that Virarājendra, while fighting against the Cālukyas of Veṅgi had imposed forced labour as a tax.[57] According to Mirashi, viṣṭi signified the rendering of occasional services free of charge. Forced contribution to labour or royal troops could be exacted as a matter of right by the king during the visit of his officers and also for military purposes. The *Vākāṭaka grant* of Pravarasena II is entirely "free from all obligations (to the state) of forced labour."[58] Gift lands were generally made tax free.[59] The state as well as the state officials formally renounced their claims to it.[60] The entry of regular or irregular troops into it was also banned.[61] On the basis of the epigraphic evidences and the *KS*, it can be asserted with some amount of certainty that the viṣṭi had come to stay as a source of income to the state and the villages had to pay such forced contributions.[62] The billeting system was in vogue and it is apparent that the villages had to make necessary arrangements for royal troops. The *Basim plates* of Vākāṭaka Vindhyaśakti specifically shows the obligations of the people towards the royal officials and

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50 Sircar, *Sel. Insc.* p. 422.

51 *CII*, III. 235, 243 ; Also Cf. *JASB* (NS), XX, 53 ; Also *Riddhapur plate of Prabhabati G.*

52 Sircar, p. 417. 53 *EI*, XI, 80.

54 *Ibid*, 174. 55 *Ibid*, I. 85. 56 *Ibid*, III. 318.

57 *SIER*, 1920, No. 520 ; Also Cf. *Gaya CP* of Samudragupta ; *Khoh plate* of Jayanātha ; *Pārdi Pillar Insc.* of Dhārasena (*FI*, X. 51) *Surat plates* of Vyaghrasena (*EI*. XI. 219).

58 Fleet, No. 55.

59 *CII*, III. 118, 122.

60 *EI*, IV. 169 ; X. 48.

61 *CII*, III, 96 ; *EI*, IV, 157.

62 *CII*, III. 98, fn. 2 ; Cf. Sircar, p. 371, fn. 6.

they had to provide everything including servants.[63] We also hear of a *viṣṭidaṇḍa* (vasatidaṇḍa) and *praṇayadaṇḍa*. These were also levied for some purposes and were perhaps special impositions occasionally realised.[64] Land granted to the Brāhmaṇas by Dharasena II of Vallabhi carried with it the *Udraṅga*, *Uparikara* and with the right to viṣṭi. It may be noted here with satisfaction that in some of the grants we find the transfer of tenants including the craftsmen do not necessarily refer to servitude of any sort.[65] Samudragupta's *prasasti* refers to reducing all foreign kings to servitude.[66] While we do not possess any details whatsoever of taxation under the Gupta empire, the spurious plates of Samudragupta simply refer to customary dues *Samuchitigrāmapratyāya* but they hardly enumerate them (Cf. R. K. Choudhary, *Select Inscriptions of Bihar-Gaya and Nalanda Spurious Plates* of Samudragupta). An inscription of the sixth century A. D. of western India states that the forced labour or viṣṭi should be imposed on smiths, chariotmakers, barbers and potters by the elders.[67] When the kingdoms became smaller and the class of fedual owners grew in numbers, power and importance of the intermediaries went up by leaps and bounds and then they formed the real class basis of the society. It was under such a state of affairs that the barons and the feudal elders could exact *corvee* labour either by consent or by force. In one of Harsha's inscriptions we find that the donee is extorted to "render unto them the service claimed by the state."[68] In a number of records in western India, viṣṭi has been described as a tax. Virji holds that it was a tax for the poor and he further opines that it was both impractical and cruel in case of poor classes.

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63 *EI*, XXVI, 153, 156; Cf. D. C. Sircar, *Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, p. 186ff; also Sircar *Select Insc*. p. 406ff.

64 *IA*, XIV. 318; Cf. *Paithan grant* of Rāmachandra Yādava.

65 *JBORS*, II. 407; 415; 423.

66 *JAOS*, 75, p. 40.

67 *JRASB* (Series III), XVI, 121.

68 *EI*, VII. 155-160.

68(a) K. K. J. Virji, *Ancient History of Saurāṣṭra*, p. 245.

The various land grants, hitherto discovered, go to show that in a number of cases the peasants were completely subservient to the donee.[69] Since there was no limit the recipients were at liberty to exact any amount of forced labour from the peasants. There is nothing to doubt about the fact that the forced labour, thus extorted, was oppressive in nature. There were other miscellaneous royal privileges designated as *Prātībhedikā.*[70] The villages were to provide for the lodging and boarding of the royal officers on tour. In some cases a small cess was levied for the purpose and this type of contribution was not sent to the royal treasury. The villagers had to pay additional imposts like boiled rice, curd, vegetable, milk, fruits etc. free of cost and supply of labour, bulls, carts necessary for the transport of royal officials (*EI*-1.6; Vi. 14). Even when the district police officers went to detect crimes or apprehend criminals they were to be provided with all the amenities. Kauṭalya has also provided for a tax known as *Senābhaktā.*[71] The villagers had to furnish cattle in relays for transport.[72] Supplying flowers and milk to royal officers on tour was one of the important obligations. The expression "*So Karuka Panka vaniga vastavyam*" in the *Charkari plate* may be an allusion to the practice of artisans working for the state for specified periods and to the special taxes payable by the mercantile community.[73] Kalhaṇa refers to the fact that during the movement of the army, people were forced to carry loads, make roads, and render many other types of miscellaneous services. They were sometimes forced to repair the damaged roads for the purpose of royal army. Kashmir, with its difficult transport, had a special porterage *corvee.*[74] A special term is used in the inscriptions for those who carry loads and that is

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[69] Cf. my article referred to above.

[70] *JIH*, XXXVIII. 195.

[71] *AS*, LL. 15.

[72] Dikshitar, *Gupta Polity*, pp. 171-72 ; Cf. *EI*, XXVI. 153-56.

[73] *EI*, XX. 131 ; Cf. Manu, VII. 138 ; Sukra, IV. 232, 240.

[74] *RT*, V. 172-74 ; Cf. Stein's note on *RT*, I. p. 209.

"*Skandhaka.*"[75] Kauṭalya also refers to this practice in the *AŚ.*[76] Forced labour was in vogue in almost all parts of India and Hiuen-Tsang refers to it. Hiuen-Tsang's reference to this practice is an indication of the fact that feudalism, with all its merits and demerits, was entrenched in the Indian soil. In his days, labour was exacted by government servants and the state and the unpaid *corvee* was also not unknown.[77] In the Gupta and in the post-Gupta period, it had come to stay as a regular system.[78]

Epigraphic sources further reveal to us that some villages were exempted from these taxes.[79] In such grants where the state as well as the officials renounced their claim[80] to it, entry of regular and irregular troops was banned.[81] The *Poona CP* of Prabhābatigupta bans the entry of soldiers and officials.[82] The word "*Vinayikaṁ*" in a number of epigraphs refers to non-interference by the district police and other officials.[83] Cases of benefice were not totally unknown and the *Chamak CP* of Pravarasena II implies a case of partial benefice as it holds back some of the advantages accruing from the donated villages. Similar instances of benefice can be gleaned through one of the inscriptions of the Reddias.[84] Besides these there were various privileges enjoyed by the higher-ups in the society amounting to severe exploitation of the people. The *Kaira plates* of Dadda II refers to the privilege of *Ditya* enjoyed by the king.[85] Ditya, probably, signified the obligation of the villagers to make customary presents on the birth of a prince or the marriage of a princess. The Bengal inscriptions of the later period are generally immune from all kinds of forced labour, exempt from all oppressions and are not to be entered by Chāṭas and Bhāṭas and are free from all dues (Cf. *Rāmapāl CP* of Srichandra; *Belwa CP* of Bhojavarman; *Barrackpur CP* of Vijoyasena; *Naibati CP* of Ballālasena; *Govindapur, Tarpandighi, Madhainagar CPS* of Lakshmanasena and *Ramaganja CP* of Iśwaraghosh-; Cf. *Inscriptions of Bengal.* Vol. III, pp. 8, 24, 66, 79, 90, 98, 104, 115 and 156). The word "*Bhoga*" in the *Khoh Inscription*[86] of Sarvanātha indicates the periodical supplies of fruits, firewoods and flowers etc, which the villagers had to furnish to the king. "*Bhoga*", signifying a type of voluntary contributions or indicating obligations of the people towards the king, is used in a number of Bihar inscriptions.[87] *Balivadaṁ* of the *Mayidavolu Inscription* of Sivaskandavarman[88] and *Saṁvinayikaṁ* are important in the sense that they refer to some sort of exemptions. These inscriptions give us sufficient proofs to suggest that it was obligatory on the part of the villagers to make arrangements for the touring officers of the king and also to make presents to the kings of all auspicious occasions. Another word of importance in the inscriptions is *Apratikara* which signified "for which no compensation was paid by the state."[89] Various types of legal and illegal contributions were realised or exacted from the people.

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[75] *EI*, III. 266 ; *IA*, XIV. 319, it refers to arrangements for the army made by the villagers.

[76] *AS*, II. 24 ; Also Cf. Beal, I. 22 ; Watters, I. 176.

[77] *JAOS*, 75, p. 226ff.

[78] *CII*, III. 98, fn. 2 ; Cf. Sircar, *Sel. Insc.* 371, fn. 6.

[79] *CII*, IV. No. 32, the donated villages were free from all these obligations.

[80] *EI*, IV, 169 ; X, 48.

[81] *CII*, III, 96 ; *EI*. IV. 157.

[82] Sircar. *Sel. Insc.* p. 414.

[83] *Ibid*, 194, fn. 1 ; This term is also found in the *Nasik Cave Insc.* of Gautamiputra.

[84] *EI*, XXI; No. 41A

[85] *CII*, IV, Insc. Nos. 16, p. 57ff line 34.

Production naturally suffered under such appalling conditions of living. Unwilling workers seem to have been forced to work without even the basic minimum wage and whenever even viṣṭi was paid it was nothing more than a drudgery. The social stigma was also a factor to be reckoned with and the Smriti writers are insistent on this point. The Śūdras and the lower orders were the worst sufferers. It has been rightly pointed that under such condition of hardship "efficiency in production could not be expected from those who were compelled to work without payment. Such a system was detrimental to the larger interests of the community.[90] The system seems to have been in vogue since time immemorial. Kauṭalya has taken it to be an important source of revenue to the state. A recent writer on Feudalism has used two contradictory statements regarding viṣṭi in one of his papers. At one place he says— "its scope was probably[91] limited" while in the same article at another place he observes— "scope of forced labour seems to have been[92] very wide". These two contradictory statements by the same author in the same article are rather confusing and need further elaboration by the author. There is hardly any doubt to show that forced labour was a common feature of the feudal society traces of which are found in the earliest records. The latter statement of the writer approaches the truth better than the former. The *corvee* marks the beginning of feudal element in Indian Society and its use became more and more frequent after Harsa and under the Rājputs. Examples are not few and far between to show that the *corvee* and the forced labour were used by the barons. Viṣṭi in later period seems to have been an unpaid feudal *corvee*. Kauṭalya recommends to take the labour of professionals[93] in lieu of taxes. Manu's economy makes a sad comparison with Kauṭalya but the former's prescription about viṣṭi in place of taxes marks the beginning of the feudal *corvee*. The surplus produced by the

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[86] Sircar, *Sel. Insc.* p. 372, fn. 7.

[87] R. K. Choudhary, *Select Inscriptions of Bihar*, pp. 63, 87, 111.

[88] Sircar, *Sel. Insc.* p. 435, fn. 1.

[89] *Ibid*, p. 343, fn. 4, 9.

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[90] B. P. Majumdar, *Socio-Economic History of Northern India*, p. 189.

[91] *JESHO*, I, 319.

[92] *Ibid*, 326.

[93] Shamshastri's three volumes on word index of the *AS* are very useful for study; In so far as Sukra is concerned, his date is yet undecided and hence no reliance can be placed on him. D. D. Kosambi has pointed out that *Sukraniti* is a nineteenth century fabrication by Oppert's Pandit. It remains to be verified further. Recently Lallanji Gopal has propounded the same theory and Professor V. S. Raghavan has confirmed it,

corvee labour seems to have been expropriated by the leisured class. The suffering humanity or the vast mass, who had to do free labour for the enjoyment by others, seem to have lost all interest in the society they lived in and they had hardly any interest in preserving and helping the safety of the ruling dynasty. The quick defeat of the medieaval Indian rulers and the rapid success of the invaders are the living examples of the fact that the general mass of people had practically no interest in the political matters and also because they were not allowed to hold weapons lest that might ultimately go against their rulers. With the growth of feudalism in the middle ages, the system of viṣṭi became more and more marked and prominent.

RADHAKRISHNA CHOUDHARY

ABBREVIATIONS USED

AŚ—Arthaśāstra
EI—Epigraphia Indica
CII—Catalogos Catalogorum Indicarium
IA—Indian Antiquary
JOR—Journal of Oriental Research
JBRS—Journal of the Bihar (Orissa-O) Research Society
JA—Journale Asiatique
JAOS—Journal of the American Oriental Society
JRASB—Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal
JIH—Journal of Indian History
JESHO—Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient
KS—Kāmasūtra
RT—Rājataraṅgiṇī
SIER—South Indian Epigraphical Report

Some Aspects of the Economy of the Indian Megalith Builders

The Indian megaliths may, at the earliest, be dated to the 5th century B.C. Though extensive research has been made and many megalithic tombs have been excavated, yet our knowledge of their ways of life remains scanty. However, from the varied variety of their grave furnishings we may gather a fleeting glimpse of their domestic economy.

India, especially the Deccan and the Peninsular India, abounds in these tombs of various descriptions. The location of the necropolis is quite interesting. It is found mostly on rocky high grounds, slopes of hills and on foreshores of irrigation tanks. In short the megalithic folk had taken pains to bury their dead in places unfit for cultivation, generally overlooking the village and the irrigation tank. In this, we may find, a vestige of the fear of the dead or the cult of the dead, whom they considered as their guardian spirits protecting their cattle, agriculture and the village as a whole.

The megalithic folk were mainly an agricultural community. The ingenuity of their engineering skill in constructing big irrigation tanks for storing water for the vast cultivable lands, is really praiseworthy. Selecting a suitable portion of a sloping ground, a bund of convenient length, away from the gradiant, was put up to impound the gushing rain water from the upper elevated regions. The arable lands were beyond this bund and were watered through convenient sluices opening in this earthen barrier. These people were mainly rice cultivators. Paddy husks have been found in many pots in their burials. They also raised ragi, a millet popular in the dry regions of the Deccan and South India.

Curiously the concerted efforts of explorers to locate their habitational remains have been unfruitful. All that they could find were a few post holes. Perhaps these people lived in bamboo hutments covered over with leaves for a roof, which did not survive the ravages of time except to leave behind a few deep holes—mute witnesses for the posts which held aloft the canopy.

Earthenware vessels formed the backbone of the householder. All these vessels excepting the sarcophagi and the urns with their lids and three legged jars (which were partially hand made) were turned on a wheel. The pottery consisted of the Red, Black and the Black and Red ware, the last one being fired under reducing conditions. Some were burnished and others had a slip. Sometimes their Black and Red ware vessels were salt glazed which gave a shining lustre with the inevitable crackled inner surface. Painting was not unknown though they decorated sparingly. Usually the pigment used was white or a light yellow and the designs were executed with a skilful use of dots and stripes or lines. The shapes of vessels included storage jars, water vessels, dishes, bowl's lids of various kinds, conical vessels and ring stands. In short, they had a range of utilitarian pots defying description, and what their actual use was could only be conjectured.

Iron was the major metal known to them. The fine workmanship and the variety of their implements would indicate an advanced knowledge of the metallurgy of iron and the manufacture of articles of domestic use and weapons for attack. Of purely agricultural implements we have the hoe, the bill hook, the sickle, axes, hooks and chisels. Weapons of chase and war included spears, lances, spearheads, arrowheads, short daggers, swords of varying lengths, tridents, horse bits etc. The hoe with which they tilled and turned the soil was a flat piece of iron with the sides folded to make a socket for fixing a handle and a semi-circular working edge, Those recovered from Polichettichergudda graves are triangular with pointed working ends. The complete hoe with its handle fixed would perhaps recall the Neolithic stone axe in its handle. The one-piece tanged sickle had a crescentic working edge. This type is in use even now among the Karnataka peasants while those of the South Indian paddy cultivators have a serrated cutting edge. Another variety of cutting implement is the bill hook. This had an arclike or semi-crescentic business end with a tang for fixing handle. This has also been handed over to posterity and is in much use in South India among the cocoanut growers and comes handy for chopping small branches and tender cocoanuts. Graves excavated in Malabar, Mysore and Chingleput yielded these weapons. The axes were wedge-like in shape with ring fastners, These have been found in most of the Central Indian, Deccani and South Indian burials. The chisel resembling a bar celt was perhaps the carpenter's tool. All these were fixed with wooden handle for easy and firm grip. Hooks were all single pieces of iron rod drawn to a convenient length with one end bent. In all probability these were used in gathering fruits. Spears, lances etc., varied in length. They had a pearshaped or a triangular head with a sharp pointed tip. The arrowheads were of two kinds, one with the solid tang and the other with a hollow tang. Pieces of wood-remains were found in the hollows of tangs. They were mostly triangular in shape, sometimes with a swept back wing-like projection to give a proper trajactile force. The short daggers had also tangs for wooden handles. Some had medial ribs. A variety of horse bits—with rigid horizontal mouthpiece and two loops, one for upper and other for the lower jaw ; with only one loop, and the linked bit—have been discovered in the Central and South Indian graves. That all these weapons had wooden handles fixed has been borne out by traces of wood sticking to them. Remnants of wooden sheaths of swords have also been noticed on some weapons from Adichanallur.

So far no fish hooks have been found in any of the graves excavated. However, we may safely infer that they fished from the irrigation tanks by means of a basket-like split bamboo trap forcing the water to run through it or had made nets of strong strings and netted their catch.

The burial monuments were controlled by the geology of the region. In other words, they chose the rock locally available to build the abodes of eternal rest. Instances where a particular kind of stone foreign to the place was brought from a distance e.g. granite for capstone to cover an urn burial in a laterite area, are not wanting. This would only suggest a ritualistic significance attached to granite. These people knew to extract sheet slabs of rock. In this process they must have had recourse to the ancient method of using fire and then through wedges and leverages at the line of cleavage cutting out successfully slabs of convenient size. Some of the slabs used for orthostats and circle boulders, show evidence of dressing. Their knowledge of iron implements might have come in very handy in this work. Stone was also used for domestic purposes. They had pestles and mortars, saddle querns and whetstones for sharpening their knives. Stone balls, especially of quartz, were perhaps play-things. Copper and bronze was limitedly known. While only copper, notably bells, finger rings, bangles etc., were found in the Deccan and middle South Indian graves, the urn burial of Adichanallur yielded many copper and bronze objects viz. hand mirrors bowls, lids, a few personal ornaments etc. The excavator Mr. Rea observes that the variety of bronze objects and their use for personal ornaments would speak for its scarceness and consequent high value.

The megalith builders had a fair knowledge of gold working. The meagre remains in the form of gold beads, diadems and finger rings would indicate the paucity of the metal. Perhaps gold ornaments were the privilege of the rich aristocracy. The occurrence of these burials near ancient gold workings have led a few scholars to speculate that they were originally gold miners.

The megalithic folk had high aesthetic sense. They knew the art of shaping shells into beautiful ornaments. The columella of the sacred chank were turned into tabular beads while the apexes were fashioned into discular ear ornaments. The whole chank itself with its apex and columella cut away, served as a sort of beautifying ornament of the nape or arm. Most of these had incised decorations, concentric circles, multi-pointed stars with small circles near each point, chevron patterns and dashes. A single specimen of a shell had the design of a snake incised upon it. Most likely this was worn as a pendant. The Nagas of Assam wear similar ornaments even today.

Beads of carnelian etched with white lines, often chevrons with bands at the periphery and dashes, were also found. The smallness of the find would indicate that these were purchased from traders rather than worked by the megalith builders themselves. Their knowledge of the manufacture of these would be a matter of conjecture. They made whorl and arecanut shaped clay beads. Metal ones also were not unknown.

Traces of cloth have been found on bronze bowls from Adichanallur. It is fair but to infer that the art of spinning cotton yarn and weaving cloth was well-known.

Surely as an advanced agricultural community, the megalithic folk must have domesticated animals to serve them in their various spheres of activities and to supplement their diet. We have evidence for their knowledge of the humped cattle of India, namely the bull, which might have been their beast of burden. The sheep, the goat and the domestic fowl enriched their food and added to the delicacy of their culinery art. The horse, though no bones of this animal were found in actual dig, was certainly known to them and in all probability helped them in their chase and in war. Dog was perhaps their companion as it is even today. Of the wild animals killed in chase we know of the wolf and perhaps the heyna also.

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Irrigation-tax in Ancient India

The question has often been raised whether in ancient India the State imposed any amount by way of irrigation-tax or not. Agriculture being the chief occupation and irrigation being so vital for cultivation, an impost on irrigation would mean a great influence and control of the State over the people. A tax of this nature, with its heavy burden on the cultivator, thins his resources.

But inspite of its importance, the subject has not received a careful study from scholars. Here, however, we do not discuss the testimony of the epigraphic records of south India in the early medieval period.

Dr. M. H. Gopal[1], who has dealt with this question at some length, is of the opinion that a water-cess or udakabhāga was charged.[2] The chief source for such a view is the injunction in the *Arthaśāstra*[3] that those, who cultivate irrigating the land by manual labour, shall pay one-fifth of the produce as water-rate; by carrying water on shoulders, one-fourth of the produce; by waterlifts, one-third of the produce; and by raising water from rivers, lakes, tanks and wells, one-fourth of the produce. It has been generally recognised that the passage refers to the cultivation of crown lands[4] and so the tax referred to here was to be paid only by those who cultivated the crown lands and made use of the irrigational works meant for the royal farms. M. H. Gopal argues that the tax is mentioned in Chapter 24, while describing crown lands and their cultivation, not because the tax applied to crown lands, but because it is natural to enumerate it while treating of agriculture, and perhaps also because the cess may have been regulated by the Superintendent of Agriculture, who was a crown officer. But, if this irrigation-tax was applicable even to non-crown lands, it would have been one of the chief sources of State income deserving mention in other contexts as well. Its conspicuous absence in the two lists, one mentioning the income collected by the samāhartā and derived among others from rāṣṭra or setu[5] and the other dealing with the income collected by the Superintendent of the storehouse from several departments,[6] shows that it was a minor and negligible source of income and hence has been referred to in Chapter 24 along with other incomes derived from the crown land. It seems that the crown demanded from the cultivators on crown land a separate tax on irrigation because irrigational works entailed the application of some capital.

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[1] *Mauryan Public Finance*, pp. 71 ff.

[2] A. N. Bose, *Social and Rural Economy*, p. 102 subscribes to this view. See also Monahan, *Early History of Bengal*, p. 81. But cf. N. C. Bandyopadhyaya, *Kauṭilya*, p. 148.

[3] II., 24.

[4] Cf. my article on Ownership of Agricultural land in Ancient India in *JESHO.*, vol. IV, pp. 255f. See also Ghoshal, *Hindu Revenue System*, pp. 29ff.

For his view M. H. Gopal further relies on a passage in the Indica of Megasthenes to the effect that 'besides the land tribute, they (the cultivators) pay into the royal treasury a fourth part of the produce'. He is of the opinion that the latter 'fourth part' refers to irrigation-tax.[7] Now, this statement of Megasthenes has come down to us in three different versions as recorded by Diodorus, Strabo and Arrian.[8] Breloer has shown that the original passage of Megasthenes indicated the state ownership of land.[9] It seems that Megasthenes due to over-generalisation has applied the condition of the crown lands to all agricultural land in the country. If we take the statement of Megasthenes to apply to the crown lands, it works out to be parallel with one in the *Arthaśāstra*.[10] According to the *Arthaśāstra* some cultivated the royal farms in return for half of the harvest, while those who lived by their own labours received one-fourth or one-fifth of the harvest. Diodorous seems to refer to the first class of cultivators who gave one-half (one-fourth plus one-fourth) of the produce to the king, themselves keeping the remaining one-half, while Strabo probably refers to the latter class, for according to him husbandsmen till the land on condition of receiving one-fourth of the produce.

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[5] II., 6.

[6] II., 15.

[7] *Mauryan Public Finance*, p. 68.

[8] F. J. Monahan, *Early History of Bengal*, pp. 142, 144, 149.

[9] *Kauṭaliya-studien I. Das Grundeigentum in Indien*, pp. 52 ff. q. by U. N. Ghoshal, *Hindu Revenue System*, pp. 168 ff.

[10] II., 24

It would thus appear that there was no general levy on irrigational work. In not a single inscription of the ancient period do we find any reference whatsoever to any irrigation-tax, though there are contexts and occasions where such a tax, if it existed, would surely have received a reference. The land-grants name taxes and dues both heavy and minor, but the irrigation-tax does not occur even once. In the Girnar inscription,[11] Rudradāman claims that he constructed an embankment out of his own money without troubling the people with any tax, forced labour or benevolence or emergency tax. The absence of any reference to irrigation dues here is a weighty argument against the view of M. H. Gopal. The evidence supplied by three inscriptions from Nepal[12] belonging to the later half of the seventh century is even more conclusive. The rulers and chiefs mentioned in the inscriptions assign the revenues from certain fields to be utilised for repairing the canals which irrigated the fields there. Had there been any irrigation-tax, the authorities would ordinarily have allotted the amount realised through it for repairs of irrigation works. Lastly, the non-mention of an irrigation-tax in the Sūtra and Smṛti literature most cogently proves that Indian thinkers never conceived the idea of the State deriving any profit from irrigational projects.

On the other hand, a number of reasons quite satisfactorily explains the non-existence of an irrigation-tax in ancient India. Firstly, in spite of canals and tanks, the cultivators generally seem to have used water from wells for irrigating their fields. There are indications that they enjoyed private ownership over such irrigational works.[13] Secondly, irrigational works constructed by the co-operative work of the people or owing their origin to the charity of any person, naturally could not be taxed. Thirdly, the construction of irrigational works was viewed as one of the basic duties of a king. In ancient India, a calamity or drought visiting the land was regarded as arising out of a sin on the part of the king.[14] He was responsible for the welfare of the people. The king fulfilled his charge by providing against the possible visit of any calamity. He could perform his duty towards cultivators best by excavating irrigational works. The one-sixth share of the produce which the king received from the cultivator was the wage he earned for protecting the people and so the question of extracting an extra tax out of irrigational works, the construction of which was a part of his duty, had no appeal to Indian kings.[15]

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[11] *Select Inscriptions*, p. 174.

[12] Bhagvanlal Indraji, *Inscriptions from Nepal*, nos. 9, 10 and 11.

It is only in the early medieval period that we find the rise of a group of thinkers advocating the imposition of an irrigation tax. They might have thought that the irrigational works meant some expenses to the State for which it should be paid or else they might have reasoned that cultivators utilising irrigational works derived considerable profit, which the rule of the State receiving a fixed share of produce as revenue could not drain out, and hence thought of imposing a graded system of irrigation-tax, the principle of which in modern times has been followed among others in the imposition of the income-tax. Of all the legal works it is only the *Śukranītisāra*[16] which specifically advocates such a tax. According to Śukra, the king should realise one-third, one-fourth, or one-half from lands irrigated by tanks, canals, and wells, by rains, and by rivers respectively, and one-sixth from barren and rocky soil. If, as is generally believed, the *Śukranīti* was a composition of the early medieval period, the passage may be interpreted as representing the new view on irrigation-tax. We however have elsewhere shown that the *Śukranīti* was most likely composed in the nineteenth century[17] and hence the passage quoted above cannot be used in our present study. The only literary passage suggesting any irrigation-cess. which we have been able to trace, is in the commentary of Medhātithi.[18] As an illustration of the laws (saṃsthā) made by a king, Medhātithi observes that the king may say that this water should not be given for purposes of irrigation of crops to such and such a village until we have secured such and such a benefit from it in return. This would imply that in return for the use of water for irrigation, villagers were expected to pay something to the state. However, it was long before the new suggestion was made use of by rulers to increase their resources. The first mention of jalakara is found in the inscriptions of the Gāhaḍavāla kings of Kanauj.[19] It seems that pressed by the inroads of the Muslims, Indian rulers resorted to all possible means for collecting money. It is even likely that the Gāhaḍavāla kings may have received some strength from the fact that an attempt to increase the claims and rights of the State, especially over water, was being favoured by the legal writers of the period. We find that the list of rights and privileges—which the land, grants transfer to the donee and which therefore pre-existed in the donor king, includes the ownership of water also.[20] Then, the verse of an unknown author quoted by Bhaṭṭasvāmin distinctly observes that those well versed in the śāstras view the king as the owner of land and water.[21]

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[13] The *Arthaśāstra* (III., 9) refers to the acquiring of ownership of irrigational works through mortgage or purchase. Further, the rules about the payment of fines for not keeping the tanks in good repairs, for damaging other's irrigational work while using one's own, as also those about forfeiture of irrigational works in case of neglect (cf. Yājña, II. 156), imply individual ownership.

[14] *Jātaka*, II. 367, V. 193, VI. 487; *Mbh*. I. 105, 44, I. 175. 38, II. 13. 12, II. 33. 5, IV. 28. 19, V. 12. 19, V. 61. 17, VII. 95. 25; *Rāmā*, II. 67. 9; VI. 128. 100-102.

[15] That some such reasoning impelled the kings consciously or subconsciously is supported by the claim that Rudradāman raised the Girnar embankment to augment his religious merit (dharmakirti Vṛddh yartham).

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[16] IV. 2. 227-29

[17] *BSOAS*., XXV, part 2,

[18] Om Manu, I. 21.

[19] *IA*,. XV; *EI*. IV. 11 (O); VIII. 14 (D); X. 23; XIII. 20.

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[20] e.g., *EI.*, IV. 131-133—Sajalasthalaḥ; ibid., II. 350-58—Jalasthala...saṁyutam; *ibid.*, II. 217-21-Vāpīkūpataḍāgārāmasahitam.

[21] On Artha II. 24; *JBORS.*, XII, p. 138—Rājā bhūmer-patiḥ dṛṣṭaḥ Śāstrajñair-udakasya ca.

Date of Varadarāja

Varadarāja was a leading exponent of the Nyāya system in the Pre-Gaṅgeśa period. He is known as the author of the manual *Tārkikarakṣā* with his own commentary *Sārasaṁgraha* on it. He is remembered as an authority in the interpretation of Udayana's *Nyāyakusumāñjali* on which he wrote the *Bodhanī*. His *Bodhanī* refers to the *Tārkikarakṣā* and *Sārasaṁgraha*.[1]

The date of Varadarāja is fixed with a fair degree of certainty. It is said to lie between 1050 A.D. and 1300 A.D.[2] Dr. S. C. Vidyabhushana appears to be correct in fixing the date about 1150 A. D.[3]

Jñānapūrṇa, the disciple of Viṣṇusvāmin, wrote the *Laghudīpikā* on the *Sārasaṁgraha* of Varadarāja.[4] He refers to Varadarāja as an ancient writer.[5] Dr. A. Venis guesses that Jñānapūrṇa may be identical with Jñānadeva, the immediate successor of Viṣṇusvāmin, the preceptor of Jñānapūrṇa. Viṣṇusvāmin was the founder of the Vallabhācāris. Jñānapūrṇa is said to have lived in the 14th century A.D.[6] However, the identity of Jñānapūrṇa and Jñānadeva is not established. Any way this would not come into clash with 1150 A. D. which may be taken as the date of Varadarāja.

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1 (a) *Nyāyakusumāñjalibodhanī*, pp. 117, 118.

(b) सुखं तार्किकरक्षायामस्माभिर्दिङ्मात्रेण प्रदर्शितमिति नेह प्रतन्यते।

Chapter IV of the *Nyāyakusumāñjalibodhanī*. MS. of the Adyar Library, Madras. The word '*asmābhiḥ*' proves conclusively that Varadarāja wrote both the works.

2 Dr. A. Venis: Prefatory Notice to the *Tārkikarakṣā III*.

3 Dr. S. C. Vidyabhushana: *History of Indian Logic*, p. 373.

4 Vide:—सर्वैश्वर्यनिजावासं सर्वविद्यानिषेवितम्।
श्रीयज्ञेश्वरहरेः सूनुं श्रीविष्णुस्वामिगुरुं नुमः॥

Concluding stanza in the Laghudipikā p. 364.

5 Vide:—पुरा वरदराजेन न्यायशास्त्रार्थसंग्रहः।
कृतः परत्वतो बुद्धया पद्यानां दुर्ग्रहार्थताम्॥

Quoted in page *V*, of the Prefatory Notice to the *Tārkikarakṣā*

6 Prefatory Notice to the *Tārkikarakṣā* pp. *III & IV*.

The *Tārkikarakṣā* is mentioned and quoted by some of the prominent writers of the 14th century. Other writers of the same period cite the passages from the *Tārkikarakṣā* without mentioning the source. Cinnabhaṭṭa, Mādhava, Vedāntadeśika and Mallinātha could be mentioned in this connection.

Cinnabhaṭṭa was patronised by Harihara II (1378-1393 A.D.), king of Vijayanagar.[7] He commented on a part of the *Tārkikarakṣāsārasaṁgraha*[8] and cites, in the *Tarkabhāṣāprakāśikā*, a commentary on Keśavamiśra's *Tarkabhāṣā*, many a passage from the *Tārkikarakṣā*.[9]

Mādhava mentions, in his *Sarvadarśanasaṁgraha*, the *Tārkikarakṣā* and cites a *kārikā* from it.[10] Mādhava must have lived after Vedāntadeśika (1268-1369 A.D.) whom he mentions and quotes in the same work.[11]

Vedāntadeśika (1268-1369 A.D.) quotes a stanza from the *Tārkikarakṣā* without mentioning the source.[12] He rejects the views of Varadarāja on *kathāṅga*,[13] and the *nigrahasthānas apratibhā*[14] and *punarukta*.[15] Varadarāja's influence is evident in his treatment of *jāti*[16] and *upādhi*.[17] *Vedāntadeśika* refers to the *ādhārasiddhānta*,[18] *ajñānāsiddhi*[19] and the three kinds of *atideśavākya*[20] under *upamāna*, all of which appear to have been treated for the first time by Varadarāja.

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[7] K. V. Subrāhmanya Iyer: *Historical Sketches of Ancient Dekhan* p. 68.

[8] See R. 2923 Triennial Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. of Madras Government. Oriental MSS. Library.

[9] The *Tarkabhāṣāprakāśikā* refers to the name Varadarāja (p. 133), his work *Tārkikarakṣā* (p. 145) and gives nine quotations from the *Tārkikarakṣā* (pp. 144, 145, 146, 147, 153, 158, 159, 190 and 261). Treatment of *anvaya* and *vyatireka* by Cinnabhaṭṭa bears the influence of Varadarāja's *Tārkikarakṣā*. Cf. *Tarkabhāṣāprakāśikā* p. 156 and *Tārkikarakṣā* p. 219.

[10] *Sarvadarśanasaṁgraha*, p. 57.

[11] *Ibid*., p. 43.

[12] This defines the *jāti kāryasama* and is found quoted in the *Nyāyapariśuddhi* p. 261.

[13] *Nyāya pariśuddhi* pp. 169-171.

[14] *Ibid*., p. 206.

[15] *Ibid*., p. 203.

[16] *Ibid*., pp. 220-225.

[17] *Ibid*., p. 108.

Mallinātha, who lived at the beginning of the 14th century A.D.,[21] wrote the *Niṣkaṇṭaka*, a commentary on the *Tārkikarakṣā*.

Meghanādāri, an exponent of Viśiṣṭādvaita, whom Vedāntadeśika quotes,[22] and who must have lived about 1250 A.D., refers to the definitions of *pramāṇa*,[23] *anubhava*[24] and perception,[25] which are given by Varadarāja in the *Tārkikarakṣā*. It appears, from a reference in his *Nayadyumaṇi*,[26] that Meghanādāri was aware of Śrīharṣa's criticism of Udayana's treatment of *tarka*.

Śrīharṣa, the author of the *Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakhādya*, gives a definition of *anubhava*[27] and refutes it. This definition is given by Varadarāja in the *Tārkikarakṣā*.[28] Śrīharṣa refers to a definition of *vyāpti*[29] which is given in the *Tārkikarakṣā*.[30] This shews that Śrīharṣa, who was familiar with the *Tārkikarakṣā*, must have lived after Varadarāja.

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[18] *Ibid.*, p. 190.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 281.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 491.

[21] M. Krishnamachariar: *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*, p. 120.

[22] Vedāntadeśika: *Tattvaṭīkā*, pp. 36, 205.

[23] साधनाश्रययोरन्यतरत् प्रमाव्याप्तं प्रमाणम्। *Nayadyumaṇi*, p. 184, *Tārkikarakṣā*, p. 7.

[24] अदूरप्राक्कालोत्पत्तिनियतासाधारणकारणप्रसूतः प्रत्ययः। *Nayadyumaṇi*, p. 184, *Tārkikarakṣā*, p. 10.

[25] यत्तु अपरोक्षप्रमाव्याप्तमिति लक्षणम् तन्न। पूर्ववद्घटादिप्रमेयेषु प्रमाश्रयात्मसु चातिव्याप्तेः। अपरोक्षत्वं साक्षात्त्वम्। तच्च लैङ्गिकादिज्ञानव्यावृत्त ऐन्द्रियकज्ञानानुगतः कश्चित् ज्ञानावान्तरजातिभेद इति साक्षात्त्वलक्षणम्। *Nayadyumaṇi*, p. 188, cf. *Tārkikarakṣā*, p. 57.

[26] *Nayadyumaṇi*, p. 197.

[27] *Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakhādya*, p. 152. See under (2) above.

[28] *Tārkikarakṣā*, p. 10.

[29] स्वाभाविकः सम्बन्धो व्याप्तिरित्यपरः। *Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakhādya* p. 370.

[30] स्वाभाविकः सम्बन्धो व्याप्तिरिति यावत्। *Tārkikarakṣā*, p. 65. Cf. *Tarkabhāṣā* p. 38.

Udayana's treatment of *tarka* which is expressed in the *kārikā*,

> शङ्का चेदनुमास्त्येव न चेच्छङ्का ततस्तराम् ।
> व्याघातावधिराशङ्का तर्कः शङ्कावधिर्मतः ॥
>
> *Nyāyakusumāñjali* III 7

is adversely criticised by Śrīharṣa in the *kārikā*

> व्याघातो यदि शङ्कास्ति न चेच्छङ्का ततस्तराम् ।
> व्याघातावधिराशङ्का तर्कः शङ्कावधिः कुतः ॥
>
> *Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakhādya* p. 370

while dealing with *tarka*, Varadarāja cites Udayana's *kārikā* (*Nyāyakusumāñjali* III. 7) in support of his treatment.[31] He explains the very same *kārikā* in his *Bodhanī*[32] While doing so, he makes no reference to Śrīharṣa's refutation of Udayana's treatment. He claims for himself the skill in expounding the views of Udayana.

Vide:—उदयनगम्भीरभावप्रकटननिपुणेन वरदराजेन ।
व्याख्यात एव गहनः कुसुमाञ्जलेः प्रथमखण्डः ॥

Nyāyakusumāñjalibodhanī p. 58.

If he were aware of Śrīharṣa's criticism of Udayana's view, he would not have left it unanswered. His silence over this proves that he must have preceded Śrīhārṣa by at least a short period. Varadarāja must have lived after Udayana (1054 A.D.) with whose works he was quite familiar. As Śrīharṣa is taken to have flourished under Jayacandra of Kanauj in the latter half of the 12th century A.D., Varadarāja may be taken to have lived about 1150 A.D., perhaps in the first half of the 12th century A.D.

V. VARADACHARI

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[31] *Tārkikarakṣā* p. 198.

[32] *Nyāyakusumāñjalibodhanī*, p. 108.

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5. M. Krishnamachariar: History of Classical Sanskrit Literature.
6. Triennial Catalogue of the Madras Govt. Oriental Mss. Library.
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MISCELLANY

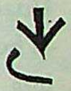
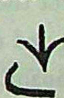
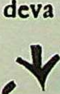
A Rare Variety of Audumbara Coins

Rapson drew the attention of the scholarly world to a peculiar copper coin[1] of the Andumbaras, a prominent tribe of the ancient Punjab, whose antiquity has been traced back to the seventh century B. C.[2] The tribe is known to have issued a number of coins both in silver and copper.[3] On the basis of the provenances of their coins, Allan has located the Audumbaras in the area formed by "the valley of the Beas or perhaps the wider region between the upper Sutlej and the Ravi."[4]

The copper coin in question has been described by Rapson thus:

Obverse: Symbol.

Reverse: Legend in Brāhmī *Bhāgavata Mahādevasa*. Standing figure holding in right hand a trident and a battle-axe combined.

According to Rapson's information, the late White King possessed two specimens of this coinage. The accompanying photograph of one of the specimens published along with the article of Rapson, however, does not help us to make a detailed discussion of the variety. Among the features of this specimen, the first that draws our attention is the legend *Bhagava*(*ta*) *Mahādevasa* (Rapson's reading *Bhāgavata* is doubtful) appearing on the reverse of the coin. It recalls a similar legend which is noticed on some coins of the Audumbaras.[5] On those coins the legend also appears in Kharoṣṭhī and the words *Rājarāja* and *Rajarañā* are added to the legends in Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhi respectively. As the legends on the Audumbara series and the present coin are practically identical, this may be considered to be a strong ground for including this variety in the Audumbara series. The probability of this attribution is enhanced when another point is taken into consideration, the point being the "standing figure holding in right hand a trident and battle-axe combined." The standing figure (of a male according to Rapson) is reminiscent of the similar device appearing on the Audumbara coins[6] which reveal the names of the four rulers ending in *Mitra*, while the combined trident and battle-axe recalls the same motif appearing on the coins of Śivadāsa, Rudradāsa, Dharaghoṣa and Mahādeva of the Audumbara series. The only novel feature of the coin is the symbol  which is found on its obverse which according to Rapson may represent some form of the *liṅgam*. It is to be noted here that this symbol is countermarked on a coin of Uttamadatta, a prince of Mathurā.[7] And what is of more interest with regard to that Mathurā coin is that it bears on the obverse the legend *Bhagavata Mahādeva* indicating thereby that the particular coin of Uttamadatta was restruck by one with his own symbol  whose name or title was Mahādeva. It seems that this Mahādeva was no other than the Audumbara king or leader who struck a number of coins, both in copper and silver. The reasons for such a conclusion are as follows: Firstly, the legend *Bhagavata Mahādeva* of the countermarked coin appears on the coins of Mahādeva of the Audumbara series. Secondly, the curious symbol  on Uttamadatta's coin is exactly similar to that which occurs on Mahādeva's coin as described at the outset. And as that coin of Mahādeva has already been assigned to the Audumbara series on grounds of epigraphy, legend and motif, it is quite likely that Mahādeva of Uttamadatta's coin belonged to the Audumbara tribe.

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[1] *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1900, p. 112ff, pl. 12.

[2] A paper entitled *The Antiquity of the Audumbaras* read by the present writer at the 24th Session of the Indian History Congress held at Delhi in 1961, is awaiting publication in the 'Proceedings Volume'.

[3] *Catalogue of Coins in the British Museum* by John Allan, pp. 123ff. pls. XIV and XV. *Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum* by R. B. Whitehead, p. 167, pl.XVI, 136.

[4] *CCBM*, pp. LXXXVII.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 123, pl. XIV, 16 and 17.

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[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 125ff, pl. XV, 13-20; p. 122, pl. XV, 1, 2, 4, 5, 10, 15, pl. XVI, 3. Also *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1914, *Num. Supplement*. XXIII, p. 250.

[7] *CCBM*, p. LXXXVI, 177, pl. XXIV, 17.

It may be presumed therefore that Mahādeva, the Audumbara king or leader, came into contact with Uttamadatta of Mathurā, and as he is seen to have restruck the coin of the latter, it may be inferred, that the relations between them were hostile. Mr. S. V. Sohoni taking the name of Uttamabhadra, who is said to have been relieved of the Mālava pressure by Nahapāna's son-in-law Ushavadāta in his Nasik inscription,[8] as the name of a person and not of a tribe, has suggested an identification of Uttamabhadra with Uttamadatta.[9] Thus Mr. Sohoni is inclined to hold that Uttamadatta, a contemporary of Nahapāna, came into conflict with the Mālavas as well as the Audumbaras. But such a view cannot be accepted on the following grounds. Firstly, Nahapāna flourished in the last quarter of the first century A.D. and the first quarter of the second century A. D. Secondly, all the coins of Hindu rulers of Mathurā such as of the *Mitras* and *Dattas* "cover the period from the end of the third to the middle of the first century B.C."[10] Uttamadatta can in no way be relegated to the early first century A. D., far less to the time of Nahapāna. Thirdly, the rulers of Mathurā, the one-time feudatories of the Śuṅgas, belonged to the period when the Śuṅga empire was tottering due to the Greek invasion on the one hand and family feuds on the other, i. e. in the second-first century B. C. Lastly, a tribe called the Uttamas, presumably the Uttamabhadras, has actually been mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*.[11] It appears therefore that Uttamadatta was a local

[8] *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. VII, pp. 78ff.

[9] *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, vol. VII, p. 27-28.

[10] *CCBM*, p. CXI.

[11] Bhisma-parva, p. 32 (Pratap Ray's edition). Rapson says that "the Uttamabhadras were no doubt a tribe of Kṣatriyas." *CCBM*, Western kṣatrapas etc., p. lvi.

ruler of Mathurā and a contemporary of Mahādeva, and thus he cannot be identified with Uttamabhadra of the Nasik inscription. Uttamadatta flourished in the second-first century B.C. and the epigraphy of silver coins of Mahādeva, whose contemporary he was, seems to confirm this.

Perhaps, as it appears to our mind, Mahādeva carried his arms into the territory of Uttamadatta and after inflicting a defeat upon the latter, restruck his coins. Both the original and the restruck coins, however, do not bear any Kharoṣṭhī legend on them like the Audumbara species. The use of Brāhmī, adopted by Mahādeva, appears to have been well-established in Mathurā where the restruck coins have been found. As regards the original one, it may be noted that its provenance is not recorded, and what appears to be probable is that such monoscriptual coins were meant for the more easterly parts of the Audumbaras. But all these are to be treated, however, as hypothetical, and until further specimens are forthcoming, we are to remain satisfied with only one conclusion, which seems to be quite reasonable, that the coinage under review is to be attributed to Mahādeva, the Audumbara ruler, who at some stage of his career came into conflict with Uttamadatta of Mathurā.

KALYAN KUMAR DASGUPTA

Fresh Light on the Problem of Rāmagupta

The historicity of Rāmagupta of the Gupta dynasty has been, for some time past, a problem for discussion. Various views have been expressed by scholars about this mysterious ruler. The references to Rāmagupta, both literary and archaeological, are too well known to be enumerated here. All these evidences, culled together, tend to prove that Candragupta II Vikramāditya had an elder brother, named Rāmagupta, who proved to be cowardly and yielded to the most humiliating proposal of a Śaka king who demanded the hand of Rāmagupta's beautiful wife, Dhruvadevī. This ultimately led to the assassination of the Śaka king as well as of Rāmagupta at the hands of Candragupta II.

Recently some round copper coins, bearing the name of Rāmagupta, have been discovered in eastern Malwa. They bear the figure of a lion (usully with the upraised tail) on one side and the name of Rāmagupta on the other. During my recent explorations in Eran (dist. Sāgar) and in the Vidiśā district, I found quite a good number of the coins of Rāmagupta. These include not only the lion-type coins but also coins of a new type, bearing the figure of *garuḍa* in place of lion. It is quite well known that *garuḍa* was the emblem of the Imperial Gupta rulers who were devout Vaiṣṇavas. It was, therefore, in the fitness of things that they adopted this emblem on their coins, seals, etc. This has been attested to by the actual find of these relics, which represent the bird prominently in various forms. The excavations at Eran, recently conducted by the University of Saugar, have also brought to light coins of Rāmagupta, both of the lion and *gāruḍa* types.

These two types exhibit a number of varieties in so far as the fabric, size and weight of the coins are concerned. This indicates that different moulds and dies were utilized for preparing them. The paleography of the coin-legends is typically early Gupta. The letter *ma* occurs in both the circular and triangular forms, more often in the latter form. Sometimes the letters are found written in an ornamental style. On the basis of the paleography, the coins can undoubtedly be assigned to the fourth century A. D.

These copper coins of Rāmagupta are akin to some coins of the Nāgas and those of the local Mālava rulers, who issued coins prior to the occupation of the Malwa region by the Guptas. The coins of Rāmagupta do not seem to be issues of any local officer of the Imperial Guptas, nor of any feudatory king named Rāmagupta. From literary and other evidences, so far available, we do not know of any other Rāmagupta in the 3rd-4th centuries A. D. except the elder brother of Candragupta II of the Gupta dynasty. I, therefore, am inclined to feel that the coins in question were issued by Rāmagupta, the elder brother of Candragupta II. It is well known that the latter issued his silver currency for the Malwa-Gujarat region, similar to the coins of the western Kṣatrapas, after uprooting them from that area. Local traditions have played considerable role in Indian history and the field of numismatics is no exception. It was but natural that Rāmagupta's coins were issued in eastern Malwa in close imitation of the fabric and type of the coins current in that area. Like the Nāga and other local Mālava coins, which are also usually round, the bust of the king Rāmagupta does not appear on his coins. We have the figure of a lion or *garuḍa* within the border of dots on one side and the name of the king in Brāhmī characters on the other. In the case of several Mālava coins we have lion[1] or the humped bull[2] on the obverse. In some cases, the obverse has a slender-necked vase[3], the exact copy of which is found on some copper coins of Candragupta[4] II, whose currency was also in circulation in Malwa.

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[1] V. A. Smith, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, vol. I, part ii, p. 172, pl XX, 16.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 172-3, pl. XX, 17-19.

[3] *Ibid.*, pl. XX, 15.

The king's portrait is conspicuous by its absence in the Mālava[5] and Nāga coins and so also in the coins of Rāmagupta. We know that on some copper coins of Candragupta II also the king's portrait does not appear. This was obviously due to the tiny nature of these coins. The stately figure of lion with upraised tail in the lion-type coins of Rāmagupta can well be compared with similar figure of the animal in the case of Mālava[6] and Nāga coins.[7] The style of the Brāhmī legend and the paleography also bear similar traits.[8] In a copper coin of Rāmagupta, recently obtained from Eran, the legend appears as *Śrī Rāmagupta* on the border, quite similar to that on a large number of Nāga coins. The only difference worth mention is that on the reverse of Rāmagupta's coin we have *garuḍa* in place of the bull of the Nāga coins. The crescent on Rāmagupta's coins can well be compared with that found on some Nāga-coins[9].

The only innovation, worth mention, in the case of Rāmagupta's coins is the appearance of *garuḍa*, the characteristic symbol of the Gupta dynasty, which is abundantly found on the gold, silver and copper coins of the rulers of this dynasty. The

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[4] J. Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasty* pl. XI, 22; Altekar, *Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, pl. XVI, 19.

[5] Smith wrongly thinks that the reverse of coin no. 58 illustrated in his Catalogue (pl. XX, 21) bears king's head. It appears to be a peacock with expanded tail, covering the whole surface, as found on a similar coin illustrated and described by Smith (no. 62, pl. XX, 22). See also Altekar, *Catalogue of the Gupta Coinage*, pl. XVI, no. 18-19. On these copper coins of Candragupta II, the portrait of the king does not appear.

[6] Smith, op. cit, pl. XXI, 3-4.

[7] Trivedi, *Catalogue of the Coins of Nāga Kings* (Gwalior, 1957), pl. IV, no. 11, 14, etc.

[8] Cf. Smith, *Ibid.*, plate XXI, 1-6. On some copper coins of Candragupta II the legend is Śri Candragupta (Altekar, X. *ibid.* pl. XVI, 14).

[9] Trivedi, *ibid*, pl. III, No. 35-38.

garuḍa-type coins of Rāmagupta, identified for the first time by the present writer, far outnumber the lion-type coins of this ruler. The most striking feature pertaining to this type is that on some coins we clearly find the *garuḍa-dhwaja*, as we get on a large number of Gupta gold coins, including those of Samudragupta. On this variety of coins the letter 'rā' appears on the left and 'ma' on the right of the *garuḍadhwaja*. The reverse bears the figure of *garuḍa*, as on other coins of this type.

Looking to the large number of coins of Rāmagupta, and particularly of the *garuḍa* type from Vidiśā and Eran, it appears most likely that this Rāmagupta was none other than the elder brother of Candragupta II.

The conquest of the eastern Malwa by Samudragupta is clearly attested to by his inscription found at Eran.[10] This inscription shows that this emperor probably made Eran (Airikiṇa of the inscriptions) his pleasure-town (*svabhoganagara*). It appears that Samudragupta visited Eran in his old age also perhaps in accompaniment of his wife and several sons and grandsons (*Bahuputra-pautra*). It may be noted here that besides commanding a panoramic view of the surrounding green land, Eran was located on a strategic point on the border of the eastern Malwa (*Ākara*). It lay on the main route joining eastern Malwa with the Vatsa kingdom on one hand and via Vidiśā with Avanti on the other. Samudragupta, therefore, rightly selected this place for his occasional encampment, which may have developed into a military outpost. A number of battles is known to have been fought at Eran during the Gupta rule. Reference may be made to the Boar-inscription of Toramāṇa, the Hūṇa chief, and to the Goparāja pillar inscription of Bhānugupta, both found in Eran. Rāmagupta may have been appointed at Eran, during the last days of his father, to look after the newly conquered region of eastern Malwa. The unsteady political conditions of the time, as revealed from various sources, may have compelled Rāmagupta to stay in

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[10] J. F. Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol III, pp. 18. ff.

Malwa, even after the death of his father, when his above-mentioned coins may have been issued. We have similar cases of the Gupta princes, Govindagupta and Ghaṭotkacagupta, who were at later times appointed to look after Malwa.[11]

It may be suggested here that the episode leading to the murder of the Śaka prince demanding the hand of Rāmagupta's wife Dhruvadevī, and later on of Rāmagupta himself by Candragupta II, took place in Eran or Vidiśā. The stone inscriptions of the Śaka prince Śrīdharavarmā at Eran and Sāñcī and the silver coins of the western Kṣatrapas found in this area tend to confirm this surmise.

A number of points in this connection require fresh consideration. It is argued that no gold coins of Rāmagupta are known; nor do we get his name in the royal genealogies of the Gupta dynasty. The problem of Kāca is also there.

Regarding these points it may be observed that the royal gold mint during the beginning of the Gupta supremacy was probably located at Pāṭaliputra alone, and not in any other part of the kingdom. Rāmagupta, in his very brief rule after the death of his father, may not have had an access to Magadha due to the troubled conditions there, as is borne out both by the Allahabad and Eran inscriptions of Samudragupta. It may be surmised that after Samudragupta's death the throne at Pāṭaliputra was usurped by Kāca, probably a younger brother of Samudragupta, who adopted the latters' title of *sarvarājo cchettā*. Kāca also issued his gold coins with a marked difference viz. that on these the *garuḍadhwaja* of Samudragupta and Rāmagupta was replaced by *cakradhwaja*.[12]

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[11] *Epi. Ind.*, vol. XXVII, pp. 12-18 and vol. XXVI, pp. 115-118. Only one gold coin bearing the name '*ghaṭo*' has so far been discovered. It was probably issued by this Ghaṭotkacagupta, who may have succeeded his elder brother (?) Govindagupta. Both these were probably sons of Candragupta Vikramāditya.

[12] Rāmagupta cannot be identified with Kāca, as the coin-types of the two are entirely different from each other. See my paper on Rāmagupta's coins published in *JNSI*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 340-44; pl. X,

It may be observed here that this new device of *cakradhwaja* was not adopted by the succeeding rulers of the Gupta dynasty; nor does the name of Kāca appear in any genealogical list of the Guptas, probably due to his unlawful occupation of the throne. The reason as to why the name of Rāmagupta is conspicuous by its absence in the Gupta genealogical lists can well be accounted for; as we know that due to his extreme cowardice he brought blasphemy to the fair name of the dynasty.[13] No successor of his ever came to possess the royal throne of the Guptas.

After killing the Śaka king and his own despised brother, Rāmagupta, Candragupta may have rushed to Pāṭaliputra, and with the help of the officers and people of Magadha may have succeeded in ousting Kāca. Nothing is known about Kāca[14] besides his single type gold coins, which he may have issued during his short reign.

K. D. Bajpai

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[13] Several references in this connection have already been noticed by D. R. Bhandarkar, Altekar and others. An allusion, so far pointed out by none, is also found in Bhāravi's *Kirātārjunīyaṁ* (ch. XVII, 4) probably to Dhruvadevi and her protector Candragupta (in the form of Arjuna)—

> "Vaṁśocitatvādabhimānavatyā Samprāptayā Sampriyatāmasubhyah,
> Samakṣamāditsitayā pareṇa badhvevakirtyāparitapyamānah."

Recently while going through the Report of Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar on the excavations conducted by him at Besnagar, it was a pleasant surprise to me to find that this staunch supporter of the Rāmagupta theory was the first to have discovered at least one lion-type copper coin of Rāmagupta (See *ASR.*, *Ann. Rep.*, 1913-14, p. 223, pl. LXIV. no. 35).

Bhandarkar could not however, identify the coin correctly, While describing this circular coin (no. 50 of his list; wt. 10·5 grains) he thinks that there is a sea-dragon (? mistaken for the lion-figure) on one side and a shaft with a river on the other, The other side, in fact, shows a crescent above and the letters *ramaga* (obviously standing for Rāmagupta) below. The coin is similar to several such lion-type coins recently discovered in Vidiśā and Eran.

[14] In the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* there is an allusion to a younger brother of Samudragupta. The same can be gleaned from the latter's Allahabad pillar inscription also.

Kṛṣṇa and Baladeva as Attendant Figures in early Indian Sculpture

The depiction of goddess Ekānaṃśā in early Indian Sculpture, in accordance with literary injunctions,[1] has well been discussed by Dr. J. N. Banerjee (*Development of Hindu Iconography*, 1956, Calcutta, pp. 133, 502 and 503), J. C. Ghosh[2] (*JASB.*, Calcutta, II (1), New Series, 1936, pp. 41-46, plate 7) etc. A fine bronze of this goddess from Imadpur, Behar, and made during the regime of Pāla ruler Mahīpāla, has been preserved in the British Museum at London. In all these mediaeval sculptures we notice the goddess as two-armed and appearing between Kṛiṣṇa and Balarāma. *But none of the extant published images of Ekānaṃśā can be dated as early as the Kuṣāṇa or Gupta period.*

During my recent visit to Europe, Dr. J. E. Van Lohuizen was kind enough to have shown me the photographs of two unpublished rectangular Kuṣāṇa reliefs of typical red sand stone from Mathurā and now preserved in the Govt. Museum at Karachi (W. Pakistan). One of them depicts Kṛṣṇa's combat with the bull-demon Keśin, a theme which is of immense interest from iconographic point of view. *It may probably be the earliest extant representation of this līlā of Kṛṣṇa in the plastic art of India.* The other relief in Karachi Museum is equally interesting as it presents the miniature figure of a two armed goddess standing between Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa appearing to her right and left respectively in identical pose. Her right hand is shown as raised up whereas the left one has been placed on the hip. The figures to her right, is that of two-armed Balarāma in standing pose and probably holding a colossal plough (*hala*) in his right hand. The utter absence of snake-hoods on his head above is to be noted with great interest. The last figure, next to goddess Ekānaṃśā, is that of a standing four-armed male deity who may be identified as Kṛṣṇa, one of the important incarnations of Viṣṇu. He carries a wheel and a mace in upper left and right hands respectively, the lower left probably holds a lotus-flower and has been placed akimbo whereas the right lower has been shown in *abhaya* pose. The goddess between the male deities here is decidedly *Ekānaṃśā* cited above.

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[1] *Viṣṇudharmottara, Bṛihat Saṃhitā, Skanda Purāṇa,* etc.

[2] Relief in Lucknow Museum. Here the goddess bears only two arms.

The existing Mathurā relief, datable as early as the second century A.D., thus enables us to push back the antiquity of the cult of Ekānaṃśā in the plastic art to the beginning of the Christian era. It appears that both the aforesaid rectangular reliefs of Karachi Museum served the purpose of being lifted as weights during exercise by wrestlers etc. There is a specific space, provided on both the sides, to lift them up for this particular purpose. It may also be noted in this connection that I discovered an interesting 8-9th century statue of Lakṣmī at Āmjhara (near Dungarpur) wherein seated the goddess is being anointed by elephants in a traditional manner whereas miniature figures of seated Baladeva and Kṛṣṇa have been carved just below her left and right knees respectively. *This association of Baladeva and Kṛṣṇa as attendant figures of Gaja-Lakṣmī*[3] *is quite unique in the realm of ancient Indian Iconography.* The male figures, flanking the seated goddess in Ellora Gaja-Lakṣmī relief, have been provided with haloes behind their heads and *Vaiṣṇava* weapons in their hands (O. C. Gangoly, *The Art of Rāṣṭrakūṭas*, Calcutta, 1958, plate 24). Equally interesting are the reliefs wherein we notice seated figures of Gaṇapati Gaja-Lakṣmī[4] and Kubera in a row one after the other (R. C. Agrawala, *Lalitakalā*, nos. 1-2, plate 44, fig. 5, pp. 132-133). The association Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma in a few Jaina reliefs from Mathurā[5] Museum and datable to the Kuṣāṇa period is also worth taking note of.

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[3] She is quite different from Ekānaṃśā because of her *abhiṣeka* by elephants in a vivid manner. For details about Āmjhara Relief, consult my exhaustive paper in *JBRS—Altekar Comm. volume*, 35 (1-4), March-December 1959.

[4] Cf. V. S. Agrawala, *J.U.P.H. Society*, Lucknow, old series, 1949, XXII, p. 150, serial no. 1119; Cf. Anand Coomaraswamy, *Yakṣas*, pt. II, Washington, 1931, plate 8, fig. 2.

It is earnestly hoped that some more reliefs bearing resemblance with those in Karachi Museum[6] will soon be brought to light for the perusal of scholars of Indian Iconography. The latter are decidedly unique specimens in the field of ancient Indian art.

R. C. AGRAWALA

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[5] V. S. Agrawala, *op. cit.*. 23, 1950, pp. 50-51 and *Jaina Antiquary*, Arah—Behar, II, p. 91.

[6] They will soon be illustrated by Dr. Lohuizen in her exhaustive paper.

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The Date of the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea

There is now a general consensus of opinion among the Indologists that the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* was written during the last half of the first century A. D. A. M. Boyer and W. H. Schoff fixed the date, respectively, at A. D. 90 and 60, and others have suggested dates ranging between the two. A century ago—in 1861 to be more precise—the great French orientalist Marcel-Toussaint Reinaud had propounded the view that the *Periplus* was written in the third century A. D. His theory did not receive the attention it deserved when the first century A. D. theories were proposed one after another. Quite recently, Madam J. Pirenne has reopened the question and resuscitated the old theory of Reinaud with the help of the critical edition of the text of the *Periplus* by Hjalmar Frisk (1927). Without going through all the points discussed by her in an elaborate article,[1] I propose to discuss the problem anew in the light of the facts and arguments to which she has drawn our attention.

We may first examine the principal arguments advanced by Reinaud in support of the third century date of the *Periplus*.

1. It would appear from internal evidence that Ptolemy must have written his *Geography* before the *Periplus*. This would be evident from a comparison of the configuration of Asia and Africa in general, and of India in particular, as conceived, respectively, by Ptolemy and the author of the *Periplus*. Ptolemy has utterly distorted the shape of India by drawing the coast line

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[1] It was published in the *Journal Asiatique*, (J.A.) 1961, pp. 441-459.

from the mouths of the Indus to those of the Ganges almost as a straight line from the west to the east. After the Bay of Bengal he makes the coast trend southward and join Africa in the southern part of Azania, being influenced by the old notion of a junction of Asia and Africa in a *terra incognita* south of the Indian Ocean, which was thus a vast lake. In the *Periplus*, on the other hand, we find a correct delineation of the southern part of India with the coast lines from the mouths of the Indus and those of the Ganges running, respectively, south-east and south-west till they meet at Cape Comorin. Further, in the *Periplus* Africa is correctly shown to have extended beyond Azania towards the west and terminated in the Atlantic. It is difficult to believe that Ptolemy, who must have minutely studied all geographical texts extant in his time, could have conceived the distorted configuration of Asia and Africa if he had any knowledge of the *Periplus*. This raises a very strong presumption that the *Periplus* was written after the time of Ptolemy, a presumption which cannot be rebutted except on very strong and convincing grounds.

It has been argued that the detailed geographical account of India, particularly of its interior, given by Ptolemy, compared with the scanty information supplied by the author of the *Periplus*—almost limited to the coastal region—indicates that the former belonged to a later period. This is not, however, a very cogent argument. Ptolemy wrote a geographical text for which he must have collected detailed information from all available sources, whereas the author of the *Periplus* merely gives from his own personal experience an account of the places he visited in course of a commercial voyage. One might similarly argue that as there is a more detailed account of the ports, harbours, navigation course, imports and exports etc. in the *Periplus*, it must be a later work than Ptolemy's *Geography*. None of these arguments can be regarded as valid, as the two books were written with quite different objects in view, though they dealt with the same region.

Much has been made of a passing remark in the *Periplus* that Taprobane was 'the old name' of Ceylon whereas Ptolemy calls it Taprobane, 'now named Salike.' As a matter of fact the critical text does not support the reading that Taprobane was an old name, and it is an absurd statement as Taprobane has *all along* been the name used by Classical writers both before and after the *Periplus* was written. As a matter of fact both Ptolemy and the author of the *Periplus* refer to the old name of Ceylon as Simundu in identical words. The additional name Salike given by Ptolemy is probably a corruption of Simhala, and its non-occurrence in the *Periplus*—as in all other Classical texts—is of no significance.

On the other hand, it may be noted that whereas Ptolemy makes Sera and Sinai the names of two different localities, the *Periplus* shows a more advanced knowledge by correctly referring to the same country China by a single name. It would thus appear that there is no reason to discard the strong presumption that when Ptolemy wrote his book he had no knowledge of the *Periplus*, and in all probability, therefore, the *Periplus* was written after Ptolemy.

2. In para 33 of the *Periplus*, the coastal region of Arabia, just beyond the seven islands called Zenobios (modern Kuria Muria) is said to be under the Persians. Now this could only refer to a period in the third century A. D. after the Sassanids had conquered the region. To obviate this difficulty it has been argued that the people of Messene, a neighbouring region, were vassals of the Arsacids who ruled in Persia and hence the district of Oman was referred to as subject of Persia. There is, however, no evidence that the Messenes ever ruled over Oman. It was, however, conquered by the Sassanid rulers of Persia during the first half of the third century A. D. It may be pointed out in this connection that the important ports of Apologus and Ommana mentioned in the *Periplus* (paras 35 and 36) are found only in later texts and were not mentioned by Ptolemy.

These facts and arguments undoubtedly establish a *prima facie* case in favour of referring the *Periplus* to the third century A. D. We may now consider the grounds on which this view was rejected in favour of a date in the first century A.D.

1. Reference is made in para 5 to the ruler of the Auxumites named Zoscales who has been identified with Za Hakale, mentioned in the Chronicles of the Kings of Abyssinia, and ruling from 71 to 84 A.D. But it is admitted that these chronicles were written many centuries after the events they describe and can hardly be accepted as authoritative. Even Schoff, who accepts the identification, rejects the date which goes against his view that the *Periplus* was written about 60 A.D.[2]

On the other hand, it has been pointed out by Pirenne that the earliest coins of the Auxumites were issued at the end of the second century A.D. and this supports the third century date for the *Periplus*.

2. In para 19 reference is made to Leuke Kome, a port and a fortress, from which there is a road to Petra, subject to King Malichus, King of the Nabataeans. He has been identified with king Malchus, king of Arabia, mentioned by Josephus as having assisted the Roman Emperor Titus in his expedition against Jerusalem (70 A.D.). As Josephus always refers to the Nabataean kingdom as Arabia, this identification was regarded as certain, and formed a conclusive evidence of the date of the *Periplus* as is now generally accepted. But the critical edition of the text of the *Periplus* by Frisk shows that the word 'Nabataean' did not occur in the original text and was added in the manuscript by a different hand some time in the 15th century A. D. or later, evidently by way of amending an ordinary word, closely resembling Nabataean, which is necessary to give sense to the sentence. There is thus nothing to show that Malichus was the Nabataean King in 70 A.D.

On the other hand, epigraphic evidence establishes the existence of a king named Malichus in the region round Petra about the third century A.D.[3]

3. In para 23 mention is made of Charibael, king of two contiguous tribes and a friend of the Emperors. He was identi-

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[2] W. H. Schoff, *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, pp. 9, 60.

[3] *I. A.*, 1961, p. 451.

fied with a king of the same name who ruled from 40 to 70 A.D. But there was a king of Saba named Du-Raydan Karib'il Watar Yuhan'im who flourished about 220 A. D. As Pirenne points out, there were, about this time, four Emperors in 19 years, and the epithet 'friend of the emperors' would be very appropriate during the period.[4]

4. In para 39 of the *Periplus* reference is made to the Parthian princes whose authority extended over the deltaic region of the Indus (called Scythia) and who were constantly driving each other out. This has been taken to refer to the latter half of the first century A. D. The chronology of the Parthian kings in India is not known with certainty, but the fact that the Sātavāhana king Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi is referred to in an inscription of his mother as having fought with the Pallavas, Śakas and Yavanas, in the second century A. D., the situation described in the *Periplus* about the Parthian rulers may well be applied to the first part of the third century A.D.

There are several Indian kings named in the *Periplus*, and they have been identified with kings ruling in the Deccan and Western India in the last quarter of the first century A.D., mainly because that date for the *Periplus* was generally accepted on grounds mentioned above. It is therefore necessary to find out how far a date for the *Periplus* in the third century A.D. can be made to fit in with those kings.

Reference is made in para 41 to a king whose name appears in the text of the *Periplus* as Manbanos but has been generally taken by the modern authors as Mambanos. The relevant passage reads as follows:

"Beyond the gulf of Baraca is that of Barygaza and the coast of the country of Ariaca, which is the beginning of the Kingdom of Nambanos and of all India. That part of it lying inland and adjoining Scythia is called Abiria, but the coast is called Syrastrene." (Schoff's Translation)

Mambanos was identified by M. Boyer with Nahapāna, a

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[4] Ibid, 450, 454.

Śaka ruler in Western India, whose known dates, according to epigraphic evidence, range between 41 and 46. These dates, referred to the Śaka era, would be equivalent to 119-124 A.D., and obviously do not agree with the third century date of the *Periplus*. In order to obviate this difficulty Pirenne has tried to prove that Nahapāna ruled early in the third century A.D.[5] This view, I am afraid, is untenable. But the identification of Manbanos with Nahapāna cannot be regarded as very certain. In the first place there is only one letter, *na*, common to both. Secondly, Boyer's attempt to push back the date of Nahapāna to 78 A.D. by regarding him as the founder of the Śaka era has nothing to commend itself. As a matter of fact even some of those who accept the first century date of the *Periplus* has rejected the proposed identification of Mambanos with Nahapāna.[6] In any case it cannot be regarded, by itself, as a decisive argument against the third century date of the *Periplus*.

Two other kings on the western coast of the Deccan are mentioned in the following passage of the *Periplus* (Para 52): "The market towns of this region are, in order, after Barygaza (Broach): Suppara (Supara) and the city of Calliena (Kalyan), which in the time of the elder Saraganus became a lawful market town; but since it came into the possession of Sandares the port is much obstructed, and Greek ships landing there may chance to be taken to Barygaza under guard."

No satisfactory identification of these two kings has yet been proposed on the basis of the first century date for the *Periplus*, except the very general and plausible view that Saraganus stands for Sātakarṇi. But the third century date for the *Periplus* would enable us to identify the elder Saraganus with Yajña Sātakarṇi and Sandares with Candraśrī Sātakarṇi, the second successor of the former. The history of this coastal region during the reigns of these two kings fully agrees with the description in the *Periplus*. Yajña Sātakarṇi (the elder Saraganus) was a great and powerful king who ousted the Śakas from the coastal region. His successors were, however, very weak and unable to cope with the Ābhīra king Īśvaradatta who temporarily usurped the dominions of the Śaka rulers in the second quarter of the third century A.D.[7] This fits in with the state of things described in the *Periplus*. It may be mentioned, in support of the proposed identification, that a unique type of coins bearing the figure of a ship has been assigned to Yajña Sātakarṇi, clearly indicating his hold over the seaports as is said of the elder Saraganus in the *Periplus*.[8]

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[5] Ibid, 455 ff.

[6] *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. II, 179.

It is also interesting to note that the Ābhīras, after whom Abiria was named, became powerful in the third century A.D. and the Ābhīra king Īśvaradatta ruled independently over a part of the dominions of the Western Satraps. This point gains importance when we remember that according to the *Periplus* Nambanūs ruled over Abiria which *adjoined* Scythia, i.e., was separate from it. On the other hand Ptolemy includes Abiria in the territory called Indo-Scythia. An independent Ābhīra ruler fighting with the Sātakarṇis of the Deccan is more in consonance with the political history of this region in the first half of the third century A.D. than in any other period, so far at least as our present knowledge goes. Incidentally, this may be regarded as an indication that the *Periplus* refers to a period later than Ptolemy, the emergence of an independent Abiria occurring during the interval between the two.

The result of the foregoing discussion may be summed up in the shape of the following propositions:

I. There is no valid ground for the assumption that the *Periplus* was written in the first century A. D. Most of the arguments cited to prove it are inconclusive and really based on this very assumption which is formed on insufficient grounds.

II. The view originally propounded by Reinaud in 1861, that this text should be referred to the third century A.D., seems to be more probable and reasonable on the following grounds:

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[7] For the political coudition, cf. ibid, 206; also cf. Rapson, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty*. etc., p. cxxxiv.

[8] V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, 3rd edition, p. 211.

1. Any person, without any preconceived notion about the date of the *Periplus*, would, on the grounds stated above, accept Ptolemy as earlier than the author of the *Periplus*. No sufficient grounds have yet come to light to modify or disprove this very rational conclusion.

2. The Persian suzerainty over the coastal region in South Arabia, specifically referred to in the *Periplus*, is true of the third, but not of the first, century A.D.

III. The proposed identifications of the kings mentioned in the *Periplus* with homonymous rulers of the first century A. D. have mostly lost their value, and other identifications, certainly no less probable, have been suggested in favour of the third century date for the *Periplus*.

IV. Madam Pirenne has not only successfully defended Reinaud's views against later criticism, but also demonstrated the utter weakness of the basis on which a date in the first century A. D. has been postulated for the *Periplus* by the later scholars. She has further supported Reinaud's theory by "the Latinism of the text of the *Periplus* and the occurrence therein of terms which are only met with in the Papyrii texts from the end of the second to the fourth century A. D."[9]

V. It would be more reasonable, therefore, to give up the view, now generally accepted, that the *Periplus* was written in the first century A. D. Although it is impossible to arrive at a definite conclusion about the date of the *Periplus* until more positive evidence is forthcoming, the theory that it was written in the first half of the third century A. D. seems to be the most reasonable hypothesis in the present state of our knowledge.

VI. The reconstruction of Indian history on the basis of the first century date for the *Periplus* must be given up, although it has gone very far and influenced many of our accepted views.

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[9] *J. A.*, 1961, pp. 454-5.

This is a very difficult task, but must be attempted if we seek to find out the true date of the *Periplus*. Profession of ignorance is more helpful to find out the truth than adherence to a wrong notion as an established truth.

R. C. MAJUMDAR

Place-Names in the Kalacuri Records*

It has already been shown[1] that in the earlier records (250-750 A.C.) of the Kalacuri-Cedi era, the place-names generally ended in Khēṭa, Padra, Padraka or Pallī. A change however, is noticed in the later records (850-1500 A.C.) wherein the names of the towns generally ended in Nagara or Pura and those of the villages in Grāma or Pāṭaka. Some localities were named after the member of the royal family or some important personality who founded them. If however, we limit ourselves to the records belonging to the different branches of the Kalacuris and their feudatories only, and study by analysis and classification the place-names occurring in them, many interesting facts come to light regarding the sources of their origin.

The place-names occurring in the records of the Kalacuris may be classified mainly from two points of views viz.

A. Semantic

B. Morphological

A. Viewed semantically, considerable number of place-names occurring in the records of the Kalacuris may be treated to be of popular origin describing various phenomena as follows;

1. Descriptive of actual or hypothetical geographical situation or landmark or environment; for example,

(a) Paṇḍartalāī[2] identified with modern Pendriā, 7 miles north-west of Sheorinārāyaṇ in Bilaspur district of Madhya Pradesh. It is noteworthy that a historical tank was actually built here by Āmaṇadeva I a scion of a collateral branch of the

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* Numbers mentioned in the footnotes of this article refer to the numbers of the Inscription in the Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum: vol. IV, Inscriptions of the Kalacuri-chedi era, parts I and II, Ed. by V. V. Mirashi

[1] V. V. Mirashi: *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. IV, part I, pages CXXXIII to CXXXVI.

[2] No. 89 and 95

Kalacuri family in the year K-919. The place is also referred to in the Bilaigarh Plates of Pṛithvīdeva II, of Kalacuri year 896.

(b) Shaṭashaḍikā-Ghāṭa,[3] identified with Ālhā-Ghāṭ in Vindhya Pradesh. The inscription of Narasiṃha of Vikram year 1216, in which this place has been mentioned, is itself on a block of stone, about hundred yards from a large cave somewhere near the foot of Alha-ghāṭ which is one of the natural passes of the Vindhya hills by which Tons river finds its way from the table land of Rewa to the plain of the Gangā. Narasiṁhadeva constructed this ghāṭ and a temple of goddess Ambikā was built by him near the road leading to it.

(c) Kadambaguhā,[4] identified with modern Kadwāhā (six miles south of Terahi) by Dr. Kielhorn, was the seat of Śaivism in mediaeval times. It is also referred to in the Ranod inscription as the place of residence of spiritual ancestor of sage Puranadara. From the literal meaning of the name of this place it seems that with the cave dwellings of these sages it also probably abounded in Kadamba trees.

(d) Samudra Pāṭa,[5] identified with modern Samand Pipariā 4 miles south of Jabalpur, by its very meaning, indicates symbolically its extent just like sea.

(e) Vaṭagartikā,[6] modern Barhati, 10 miles west by south of Jabalpur probably points the presence of Vaṭa trees and holes or caves that might have existed there once.

(f) Vaṇārī,[7] indentified with Banāri near Janjgir in Bilaspur district, probably indicates a forest (Vana) that might have existed there once.

2 Descriptive of some old reminiscences as regards incident or commercial activity, for example;

(a) Daṇḍapura[8] (literally meaning the City of Punishment), is still unidentified. In the Koni Stone Inscription of Pṛithvīdeva II, verse 26 refers to the exploits of Purusottama, the

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[3] No. 62.

[4] No. 45.

[5] Nos. 64

[6] No. 42

[7] No. 98

[8] No. 90

Sarvādhikārin of Ratnadeva II. He is said to have punished Daṇḍapura by subduing it with fierce arm (दण्डपुरदण्डनचण्डबाहुः) He also threatened the lord of Daṇḍakabhukti.

(b) Vimānapura (literally meaning the City of Vehicle), Durlabhapura (lit. the city of Rarity), Lavaṇanagara (lit. the city of salt) and Saubhāgyapura (lit. the lucky City) have been referred to in the Bilhari stone Inscription of Yuvarājadeva II[9] in connection with celebration of a fair in honour of the deity of the temple of Nauhaleśvara (which Nohalā the queen of Yuvarājadeva constructed). "The (inhabitants of) famous Tripurī, Saubhāgyapura, Lavaṇanagara, Durlabhapura, Vimānapura......shall bring guarded (to the monastery?) the bull made of beautiful wood everyday (at the fair?) of the god for the performance of religious rite" (verse 83). Probably all of these cities were in some way or other obliged to provide material for the daily needs of the temple in its smooth performance of religious rites and were named symbolically. It may also be that Vimānapura and Lavaṇanagara were famous for their commercial activity in vehicles and salt respectively and hence they were so named. Saubhāgyapura may remind us of some incident or success that somebody achieved there and from which the place was named.

3. Descriptive of caste or profession of the local resident; for example,

(a) Bamhaṇī,[10] modern Bamhani, 4 miles north east of Akaltarā in Bilaspur district, and Bramhapurī,[11] modern Bāhmangaon, 7 miles south by west of Gurgi near Rewa had probably big settlements of Brāhamaṇas to which the names point. It is interesting to note that the Kalacuri court of Ratanpur attracted Brāhmaṇas to migrate from such distant places as Soṇabhadra[12] in Uttar Pradesh and Kumbhaṭī[13] in Madhya Bharat.

(b) Ābhīrapallī[14] (unidentified as yet) similarly points to a settlement of Ābhīras (cowherds) from which the place seems to have derived its name. It is noteworthy that Ābhīras, during

[9] No. 45

[10] No. 96

[11] No. 46

[12] No. 83

[13] No. 97

[14] No. 46

this period, rose in social status and like Huṇas were ranked amongst the best known Kṣatriya families.

(c) Nāgabala[15] (identified with modern Naigawān, 2 miles south of Bilhari in Jabalpur district), was most probably named after the settlement of Nāgas that might have existed there. Nāgas used to hold good positions during the Kalacuri reign, e.g. in the Chhōṭi Deori Stone Inscription of Śaṅkaragaṇa.[16] The illustrious Chuṭu Nāgaka has been stated to be in charge of the Viśaya of Kakandakuṭu.

(d) Similarly Kōṇiyānām (Vāṭaka),[17] identified with Kanhuvāḍī in Nasik district, was most probably a hamlet of the Koṇiyās.

(e) Vaṇiāpāṭaka[18] (identified with Bāonpār near Kahla in Gorakhpur district of U.P.) was probably named after the predominently merchant population there. This may very well be compared with the Vaṇiṅ-Nagara (Merchant town) referred to in the Anjaneri Plates of Caulukya Bhōgaśakti.[19]

4. Descriptive of some ancient legendary accounts; for example,

(a) Tripurī,[20] identified with modern village Tewar in Jabalpur district, was the place where, according to Āvantyakhaṇḍa of the Skanda Purāṇa the powerful demon Tripurā was defeated by Mahādeva, the presiding deity of Avantī. In the Bālarāmāyaṇa, Rājaśekhara ascribes the origin of Tṛipurī to the fall from the sky of a portion of the three cities of Tripurāsura burnt by Siva (Bālarāmāyaṇa, Act III, V. 38)

(b) Machkā-Sihavā[21] which is the same as modern Mechkā-Sihavā, a tract south of Dhamtari in Raipur district, seems to have been regarded as a piece of holy land since ancient times. Many legends regarding the origin of Sihāwā and Mechakā are still existing. According to one account, a certain king Siṅharāja of Jagannātha Purī, the ancestor of King Karṇa of lunar dynasty (referred to in the Sihāwa Stone Inscription of

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[15] No. 45

[16] No. 36

[17] No. 14

[18] No. 74

[19] No. [illegible]

[20] No. 49

[21] No. 88

Karṇarāja)[22] having become leper quitted that place and came to Sihāwā which was then merely a dense jungle. There he found a spring of water (still pointed out) in which he bathed and his leprosy was healed. He was then installed the king of the place which was named Sihawa i.e. Siṅha + Āvah (the comfort of Siṅha) from the relief that the king obtained there. Sihāwā is again the source of the sacred Mahānadī and is supposed to be the hermitage of Rishi Shringin who is still worshipped there. Five miles away is the village Ratawa where Āngiras Rishi is said to have resided. Sage Mucukunda had his āśram in the village Machkā, about 20 miles distant. The place evidently derives its name from the Sage.[23] Apparently the tract formerly went by the name of Mechkāsihavā as we find it so mentioned in the Rajim Stone Inscription of Jagapāladeva.[24]

Some of the place-names whose origin is of learned aim at elegance and they seem to have been names after these: (1) Names of the local deities, (2) Names of distinguished personalities, (3) Names of animals, plants, flowers etc., and (4) Idea of dimension, extension etc.

1 Names of the local deities; for example,

(a) Nārāyaṇapura[25] (lit. the city of Nārāyaṇa) seems to have derived its name from God Viṣṇu of which it might have been a centre of worship. The place situated 20 miles south-west of Kharōd in Raipur district has the same name even now. A medieval temple of Viṣṇu is still existing there.

(b) Similarly Durga,[26] now the chief town of Durga district, seems to owe its name from the Goddess Durgā whose temple was constructed there by Gaṅgādhara the chief minister of Ratnadeva III. Cunningham however is of opinion that 'the very name, which means simply "the fort", would seem to point it out as having once been the principal fortified position in the southern half of Mahā-Kośala'. (Cunningham: Archaeological Survey Reports, vol. xvii, pp. 3, 4).

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[22] *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. IX, pp. 182 ff

[23] A. E. Nelson: *Raipur District Gazetteer*, p. 342

[24] Hiralal Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar, No. 178

[25] Nos. 90 and 100

[26] No. 100

(c) Devagrāma[27] (lit. the village of God) (identified with Deogavān close to Khairha in Vindhya Pradesh) might have been so named because of its being the place of worship of some deity. A number of old wells, water reservoir and remains of old buildings are still existing here and this indicates it to be a centre of worship once.

(d) Similarly Devaparvata[28] (lit. the mountain of God) might have taken its name from the worship of some deity in the locality, most probably on the top of some local mountain. The place has not so far been identified. If however Dr. Mirashī's suggestion[29] identifying Vikarṇapura with modern Kōṭgaḍh, one and half mile to the north of Akaltarā (Bilaspur district) is accepted, Devaparvata at whose foot a very deep well was constructed by Vallabharāja, may be identified with modern Dalhā Pahār, about a mile further north of Kōṭgaḍh.

2. Names of the members of the royal family or men of high position; for example;

(a) Ratnapura,[30] founded in his personal name by Ratnadeva I, Kalacuri king of Ratanpur branch. The place has been identified with Ratanpur, 16 miles north of Bilaspur.

(b) Jājallapura,[31] the city founded by Jājalladeva of Ratanapur branch of the Kalacuri in his own name. The place is the same as modern Jānjgir, tahsil headquarter in Bilaspur district.

(c) Tejjalapura,[32] evidently founded in the name of Tejjaladeva a colleteral Kalacuri prince. The place is untraceable now, but most probably it was situated not far from Sheorināräyaṇ in Bilaspur district.

(d) Gōsalapur, a village about 19 miles north-east of Jabalpur was evidently named after Gōsaladevī, the queen of Kalacuri Jayasiṁha of Tripurī.

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[27] No. 56 [28] No. 95

[29] Mirashi, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. IV, part II, p. 431, 496, 501 and 503n.

[30] No. 75 [31] No. 77 [32] No. 96

(e) Karṇāvatī,[33] identified with modern Karaṇbel (a village about a mile from Tripurī in Jabalpur district) must have been named after Kalacuri Karṇa of Tripurī. Even the modern corruption of the name has "a double signification, retaining the memory of the founder in the first half and giving the distinguishing mark of the site in the second, there being a jungle of bel trees to supply leaves to the numerous Śiva liṅgas once shrined there".[34] It may be noted that Karṇapura is also the name of a ridge near Kārītalāi.

(f) Karṇatīrtha, probably a ghāṭ built after the name Karṇa at Allahabad where, after bathing in Gaṅgā and worshipping Śiva, he made grant of the village Chandpahā situated in the Kauśamba-pattalā.[35]

(g) Jagapālapura,[36] the city founded in his personal name by Jagapāla, the general of Pṛithvīdeva II of the Ratanpur branch of the Kalacuris. Jagapālapura may be suggested to be the same as modern Jagadalpur, the district town of Bastar. In the Rājim Stone Inscription of Pṛithvīdeva II, Jagapāla is said to have taken the strong forts of Saharāgaḍha and Machakā-Sihavā and conquered the countries of Bhramaravadra, Kāntāra, Kusumabhōga, Kāṇḍā-ḍoṅgara and Kākayara. In this newly acquired territory he is said to have established the town of Jagapālapura. According to Dr. Kielhorn Saharāgaḍha was the ancient name of modern Sāraṅgarh, formerly a feudatory state in Chattisgarh. Hiralal has identified Machkā-Sihawā with Mechkā-Sihavā, south of Dhamatarī (Hiralal: Inscription in C. P. and Berar, no. 178) Bhramaravadra has been identified with Bhramara Kōṭya Maṇḍala in the Bastar district.[37] Kākyara is modern Kāṅker in the same district and Kāntāra may be the forest not far from it. Kāndā-Ḍōṅgara may be the southern portion of the former Bindrā-Nawāgarh Zamindari where a range of hills still goes by the name of Kāndā.

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[33] No. 56

[34] *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XII, p. 209

[35] No. 50

[36] No. 88

[37] *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. IX, p. 179

From the above identifications it is apparent that the "newly acquired territory" of Jagapala must have comprised a major portion of Bastar district and some part of the Raipur district. The new city of Jagapālapura founded in this region may therefore be no other than Jagadalpur which, at present, is the headquarter of Bastar district.

(h) Rāyapura,[38] identified with modern Raipur, the district town of Chattisgarh was most probably founded by Rai-Brahmadeva, a prince of the Junior branch of the Kalacuris which separated from the senior branch of Ratanpur. Rāyapura was the capital of this branch of the Kalacuris but Khalvāṭikā seems to have been their another capital as is evidenced from the Khalāri Stone Inscription of Haribrahmadeva V, year 1470. It is not certain whether, after separating from the main branch, the prince of this branch first settled at Khalāri or Raipur. If Khalāri was their first capital, it is possible that Rai Brahmadeva may have removed it to Raipur and named the latter after himself as Rāyapura.[39] Dr. V. V. Mirashi however is of opinion that Rāyapura (the Royal city) may have been founded by Rāmcandra, the predecessor of Brahmadeva.[40]

3. Names of certain animals, plants, flowers grains etc.; for example,

(a) Hastigrāma,[41] literally means the village of elephant.

(b) Makarapāṭaka,[42] has been named after Makara (i.e. crocodile). It has been identified with Magarmuhā, 4 miles to the west of Bherāghāṭ near Jabalpur. Its situation described in the record as "on the right bank of Narmadā in the land near the foot of the hills," probably points to the reason why it was so named.

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[38] No. 107

[39] *Raipur District Gazetteer*

[40] *Corpus Inscription Indicarum*, vol. IV part I, page cxxxi, f n. 8

[41] No. 74

[42] No. 60

(c) Sārasaḍōllaka[43] literally means the hamlet of Sārasa i.e. Indian crane, (identified with Sarsi, 34 miles south by west of Candrehe).

(d) Bhramaravadra[44] (identified with modern Bhramarakoṭyamaṇḍala, central portion of Bastar) is named after Bhramara i.e. the large black bee.

(e) Kākyara[45] (modern Kāṅker, a former feudatory state in Chattisgarh) derives its name from Kāk i.e. crow.

(f) Kukkuṭa[46] (not yet identified) seems to be named after Kukkuṭa i.e. cock.

(g) Vaṭa nagara[47] (Vaḍner, Nasik Dist.), literally means the city of Vaṭa trees.

(h) Kusumabhōga[48] (modern Kusumurrā in Dhamatarī Tahsil of Raipur district) literally means bhoga (sub-division of a Viśhaya) of flower.

(i) Khalvāṭikā,[49] (Khalārī in Raipur district) means a garden of Khalva (a liguminous plant).

(j) Taṇḍulapadraka[50] (identified with Tāndaljā in Baroda district) is named after Taṇḍula, meaning grain.

4. Idea of diamension, extent or position; for example,

(a) Bṛihannārikā,[51] literally meaning "the larger Naṛia" (identified with modern Nāriā, near Goraj in Baroda district) gives a vague idea of its dimensional position.

(b) Dīrghāśākhika,[52] literally meaning "long branched" (identified with Dighī near Kārītalāi in Jabalpur district) symbolically indicates the extent of the village.

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[43] No. 46

[44] No. 88

[45] No. 88

[46] No. 77

[47] No. 14

[48] No. 88

[49] No. 108

[50] No. 13

[51] No. 15

[52] No. 42

(c) Antarpāṭa[53] (identified with Amaturrā near Kārītalāi in Jabalpur district) probably named in the sense of "Antardēśa" indicates the location of the village.

B. Viewed Morphologically, the place-names in the Kalacuri records may be classified into various types as follows: —

1. Names ending in "Nagara"; for example,
   - (a) Vaṭanagara[54] (identified with Vadner in Nasik district of Bombay).
   - (b) Lavaṇanagara[55] (not yet identified).
2. Names ending in "Pura"; for example,
   - (a) Ānandapura[56] (same as Ānand in Kaira district in Gujarat).
   - (b) Varelāpura[57] (identified with Barelā near Ratanpur in Bilaspur district).
   - (c) Sōṇṭhivapura[58] (same as Soṇṭhi, near Akaltarā-Bilaspur district).
   - (d) Rāyapura[59] (Raipur town in Chatisgarh); and many others.
3. Names ending in "Grāma"; for example,
   - (a) Rajōgrāma[60] (not yet identified).
   - (b) Nikhatīgrāma[61] (modern Naktauli near Kahla in Gorakhapur district).
   - (c) Devagrāma[62] (modern Dēogavān near Khaira in Vindhya Pradesh).
   - (d) Hastigrāma[63] (unidentified as yet).
4. Names ending in "Pāṭaka"; for example,
   - (a) Chhallipāṭka[64] (same as Chilhāri near Dhavala in Vindhya Pradesh).

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[53] No. 42
[54] No. 14
[55] No. 45
[56] No. 15
[57] No. 96
[58] No. 98
[59] No. 107
[60] No. 46
[61] No. 74
[62] No. 56
[63] No. 74
[64] No. 42

(b) Dhaṅgaṭapāṭaka[65] (identified with Dungarhai near Bilhari in Jabalpur district).
(c) Khailapāṭaka[66] (identified with Khailwārā near Bilhari in Jabalpur district).
(d) Mahiāripāṭaka[67] (same as Mehdiā—Gorakhpur district).
(e) Asathīpāṭaka[68] (identified with Avasthi in Gorakhpur district).
(f) Duāripāṭaka[69] (unidentified as yet).

5. Names ending in "Padraka" for example;
   (a) Nirguṇḍīpadraka[70] (probably modern Nagarvāḍā near Dabhoi)
   (b) Taṇḍulapadraka[71] (Identified with Tandaljā near Sankheḍā in Baroda district etc.

6. Names ending in "Ḍōllaka"; for example,
   (a) Sārasaḍōllaka (as above).
   (b) Vakkaḍōllaka[72] (unidentified as yet).

7. Names ending in "Katin"; for example,
   (a) Karīkatin[73] (Khurai, near Deori Maḍhā in Jabalpur district).
   (b) Asekatin[74] (unidentified).

8. Names ending in "Hrada"; for example,
   (a) Pāshāṇihrada[75] (identified with Saṇiadarī near Saṅkhhedā in Baroda district.
   (b) Cakrahradī[76] (same as Cakadahi near Karitalai in Jabalpur district.

9. Names containing the element "Pundikā"; for example,
   (a) Nāsapuṇḍikā[77] (unidentified).
   (b) Pōṇḍikā[78] (unidentified).

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[65] No. 45
[66] Ibid
[67] No. 74
[68] Ibid
[69] Ibid
[70] No. 13
[71] Ibid
[72] No. 46
[73] No. 36
[74] Ibid
[75] No. 13
[76] No. 42

10. Names containing the element "Vaḍa", for example
    - (a) Dhōṭṭavāḍa[79] (unidentified).
    - (b) Khāḍā[80] (identified with Karrā, near Ratanpur in Bilaspur district).
    - (c) Kaṇḍarvāḍa[81] (same as Kunda in Jabalpur district).
    - (d) Kumarī-Vaḍao[82] (identified with Kawarwārā near Goraj in Baroda district).
    - (e) Vaḍadā[83] (probaly the same as Badrâ in Baloda Bazar tahsil of the Raipur district).
    - (f) Avaḍachaṇa[84] (unidentified).
    - (g) Saḍaviḍa[85] (unidentified).
    - (h) Vāna-vaḍada[86] (identified with Balauḍā in the Janjagir tahsil of Bilaspur district).
    - (i) Viḍā[87] (unidentified).
    - (j) Bhauḍā[88] (unidentified).

Morphological analysis made above makes it clear that the origin of the place-names in the Kalacuri records may be traced to two different sources, viz. Āryan source and Non-Āryan source.

All those place-names which have prefix of clearly Sanskritic origin or have as suffix Sanskrit words like Nagara, Pura, Grāma, Hṛada, Pāṭ, Kuṭu (corruption from Kūṭ), etc. belong to Āryan source.

Some names apparently containing elements foreign to Sanskrit seem to be of Non-Āryan origin. The reason of this is not far to seek when, as indicated above, we know that people of non-Āryan tribes like Ābhīras and Nāgas used to enjoy dignified position in the Kalacuri courts and they had some settlements within the Kalacuri empire. Mutual cultural influence was therefore natural. Place-names where non-Āryan influence is noticed are:

(a) Names containing the element Vāḍ (No. 10 above)

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[77] No. 46

[78] Ibid

[79] No. 70

[80] No. 95

[81] No. 64

[82] No. 15

[83] No. 123

[84] No. 74

[85] No. 95

[86] No. 100

[87] No. 45

[88] No. 95

whose basic element seems to be a bād. They are most probably of Austric origin (cf. Ho. barre), or they may be explained as having some connection with Dravidian Vaḍā or Kol Oṛak "house."[89] Probably this austric origin is responsible for some names contaning repetition Buḍubuḍū[90] (identified with Burubur near Pāli in Bilaspur district).

(b) Names containing the elments Īng, Aṅga, Puṇḍi etc. e.g. Khijjiṅga[91] (same as Khiching, capital of the Bhañjas), Kōsaṅga[92] (identified with modern Kosagin in former Churai Zamindari in Bilaspur district), Nāspuṇḍikā (as above), Pōṇḍikā (as above) etc. They seem to be of Dravidian origin (cf. Ho. (Kol): Īng "Ī", Aṇga "Little", Puṇḍi "White" etc.[93])

(c) Names containing the elements Nāḍu, Ūṇḍi, Iṇḍi etc. which seem to be of south Indian origin (cf. Telegu, Nāḍu "place" Tamil Unṭi "Home") eg. Seṇāḍu[94] (identified with Sōnada near Kharōd in Bilaspur district), Nāmūṇḍī[95] (place unidentified) Khimmiṇḍi,[96] (identified with Kimeḍi Zamindari in Ganjam district) etc.

Many other place-names in the Kalacuri records which seem to be otherwise unexplained regarding their origin are still awaiting scholarly investigation.

R. K. Lal

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[89] S. K. Chatterjee in "Vedic Age" (Ed. R. C. Majumdar) page 147 and K. P. Goswami: *Journal of the Deptt. of letters*, Calcutta University Vol. XXXIII, pp. 33-35.

[90] No. 94 [91] No. 90 [92] No. 105

[93] W. W. Hunter *A Comparative Dictionary of the Non-Aryan Languages of India and High Asia* (1868)

[94] No. 100 [95] No. 60 [96] No. 90

Some Aspects of the Economic History of Ancient India from Coinage

Evolution of Coinage in the World and in India

'Coin' has been defined and the process of its evolution indicated by Charles Seltman in the following lucid sentences:

"Metal, when used to facilitate exchange of goods, is currency; currency, when used according to specific weight-standards, is money; money stamped with a device is a coin. Metal intrinsically valuable, weight deliberately adjusted, the mark or device of a responsible authority, all three are needed to make a coin.

Mankind first learnt to value, next to weigh, and last of all to stamp metal; or in other words, evolved from barter to metallic currency, abandoned mere currency for money, and then mere money for coinage."[1]

The economy that prevailed in the primitive society was one of barter. A further step forward was made when different units of value were evolved. The objects that were taken as media of exchange in that system varied, as is to be naturally expected, in the different stages of the evolution of the community. Thus in the hunting or food-gathering stage, all economic transactions were used to be carried on with the help of hunting-weapons or skins of animals hunted. But, as the hunting stage passed to the pastoral, and animals were domesticated, the animal itself became the unit of value. The common feature of the primitive economy among all peoples belonging to this stage was that wealth was ascertained in cattle. As the pastoral developed into the agricultural stage, a number of agricultural products, in addition to the cattle, came to be used as the media for transactions. The cow or ox, however, gained such a strong hold on the mind of man as a unit of value that it left its distinct mark even on the metallic currency when the latter was evolved.

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[1] Charles Seltman, *Greek Coins*, p. 1.

The difficulties arising out of exchange transactions through non-metallic objects are great, and these made themselves felt more and more as the community expanded and human needs gradually widened. As Seltman puts it, "You could cut off lengths from bars of gold and silver, you could break off segments of electrum rings, you could chop off blocks of bronze from your ingots; but you could not divide your ox without converting him into beef and by that act decreasing his value."[2] But even when a metallic currency came to be evolved, the force of habit was so great that man could not all at once shake off the long association of the cow as the standard of value. From Mycenae has been unearthed a bronze talent belonging to the 14th century B. C., cast exactly in the shape of a cow-hide after the head and the tail have been clipped off from it. One side of the metallic piece imitates the rough hairy skin of the animal; the other resembles the raw inside with its edges curling inwards. A clay tablet from Cnossus, datable to the 15th century B. C., also seems to represent a metallic piece, exactly of this shape, used for currency. Even as late as the 4th century B. C., the rectangular copper blocks, which constituted the earliest Roman coinage, were cast each with the figure of an ox upon it to indicate its value. The Roman word for cattle was *pecus*; it was the origin of their frequent word for property, *pecunia*, and has descended to the present day in the common English word, *pecuniary*.[3] There are also evidences from other countries of the ancient world to show that the cow or the ox unit was, in a like way, adopted as the standard to which all metallic currencies were adjusted. The gold unit of value in the Aegean became, a little pallet, or a bar, or a ring weighing some 8·5 grammes, the price of a full-grown ox. Brown observes: "The Greek *stater* and the Persian *daric* certainly and possibly the Indian

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2 *Ibid.*, *The Greek Coins*, p. 5.

3 J. H. Breasted, *Ancient Times*, p. 501.

suvarna, so frequently mentioned by Sanskrit authors, was the value of a full-grown cow in gold, calculated by weight.'"[4]

There were also other units of value that served as media of exchange in primitive communities. As the writer of the section on Coinage in the *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences* informs us, "previous to the invention of coinage, practically all movable goods, sometimes even immovable property, like the carved rocks (feis) on the island Yap, were used as means of exchange."[5] Analogous to the ox-hide talents from Mycenae and the Roman coins with the figure of an ox, are the bronze coins of Olbania, shaped like a Tunny fish, and the electrum coins of Cyzicus bearing the imprint of the fish. Reference may also be made, in this connexion, to the spade, knife and ring moneys of China, the earliest currencies of the country, to the Egyptian gold cowries, the Chinese bronze cowries, the Burmese silver shells, the silver fish hooks of the Indian Ocean, etc.

In the Vedic literature, there are copious instances to show that the cow was used as a principal unit of value in that stage of Indian society. The tribal-pastoral characteristic of the Vedic people is clearly hinted at in the *Ṛgveda*, which refers to *gaviṣṭi*, i.e., search for cows, as one of the words for fight, in the prayers for cows in the *Gṛhyasūtras*.[6] We hear again, in a *Ṛgvedic* hymn, of an image of Indra being sold for ten cows;[7] in the *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa*, of Śunaḥśepa being purchased from his father in exchange for one hundred cows,[8] and so on. The *Gṛhyasūtras* prescribe cows for sacrificial fees, and the word *dakṣiṇā*, as has been aptly pointed out,[9] owed its origin to the fact that the cow as a sacrificial fee was placed on the right side of the priest to be rewarded. It is curious to note that even as late as the 15th century A.D. Raghunandan, the Bengali jurist, assigns in his *Prāyaścittatattvam*, the foremost place to the cow in point of sanctity as gift to a priest. Next in the order of preference come cowries, then copper, and last of all, silver or gold. This is but one instance, out of many, of the long established conservatism of the Hindu priesthood, as also of the society as a whole.

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[4] C. J. Brown, *The Coins of India*, p. 13.

[5] M. Palyi, *Coinage* (The Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences. III-IV), p. 622.

[6] A. C. Das, *Ṛgvedic Culture*, pp. 135ff.

[7] *Ibid*., p. 145; *Ṛgveda*, IV. 24. 10.

[8] *Aitareya Brahmaṇa*, V, xxii, 9.

[9] A. B. Keith, *The Cambridge History of India I*, p. 99.

There is evidence, however, to show that a metallic currency had already been evolved in the *Ṛgvedic* period. The *Niṣka*, originally a gold ornament worn on the neck, as would appear from such epithets as *Niṣkagrīva*, or *Niṣkakaṇṭha*,[10] seems to have come already to denote a medium of exchange. Attention is drawn by scholars to a hymn of the *Ṛgveda* where a singer celebrates the receipt of a hundred *Niṣka* and a hundred steeds, and it is pointed out that *Niṣka* here must denote currency, inasmuch as the recipient could hardly require the *Niṣka* merely for purposes of personal adornment.[11] Gold ornaments were in use as media of exchange in other ancient societies too, for instance, in Egypt and Babylonia. In the age of the Later Saṁhitās and Brāhmaṇas, where frequent references to *Kṛṣṇala*, *Śatamāna*, etc. are made in addition to *Niṣka*, a regular system of metallic currency based on definite weight-standards seems to have evolved. But the transition from a non-metallic to a metallic system of economic transactions, which is so interestingly brought to light by archaeological finds in other parts of the world, is, in the case of India, recorded only in different strata of its literature, and no actual specimen of the earliest currency of the country has yet come down to us.

Nor is it possible, in the present state of our knowledge, to trace the early stages in the evolution of the coinage itself in India so clearly and definitely as on the shores of the Aegean. The experience of the numismatists is that it was the merchants in all countries of the ancient world who took the initiative in the introduction of coinage in order to promote their own commercial interests, and that it was only when the advantages of the institution became manifest and its national importance realised that the States stepped into the place of the private issuers.[12] Things must presumably have taken a similar course in India as well.[13] Reference may here be made to certain solid silver ingots having only three punches on one face of them that are generally considered to represent the earliest extant currency of the country. The punches were, in all likelihood, impressed by private traders, as the metal blanks passed through their hands, for quick recognition and in order to save themselves the trouble of repeatedly testing their value and purity. We may recall, in this connexion, the simple device adopted by the Ionian merchants to mark the electrum dumps by nails that passed as currency among them before the introduction of a State coinage by a Lydian king. But by the time when the punch-marked coins were in circulation in India, the private moneys seem to have already been superseded by a regular State coinage.

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[10] *Ṛgveda*, V. 19. 3.

[11] S. K. Chakrabortty, *Ancient Indian Numismatics*, p. 21.

In the West, the first coin of the domain was introduced in Lydia, somewhere towards the close of the 8th or the beginning of the 7th century B.C. But in the East, in China and India, coinage originated independently, as is now generally belived, without any foreign influence or specific State help. According to the Chinese Annals, coinage was introduced in that country by Cheng, the second king of Chou, as far back as 1091 B.C. About the antiquity of the Indian coinage, however, there has been a divergence of opinion among scholars, and various dates have been proposed, ranging from the pre-historic times to about the 4th century B.C.[14] The discovery at Bhir mound, Taxila, of the silver punch-marked coins dated by a fresh coin of Philip Aridaeus to about 317 B.C., the reference by Quintus Curtius to the presentation of eighty talents of *signati argenti*, i e., stamped silver, by Omphis, king of Taxila, to Alexander the Great in 326 B.C., the plastic forms of coins on the Bhārhut and Mahābodhi *stūpas* in connection with the illustration of the Buddhist legend of the purchase of the Jetavana at Srāvastī by the merchant Anāthapiṇḍika, etc., may give us an idea about the lower limit of the date of the introduction of coinage in India. The upper limit, however, cannot be determined with certainty in the present state of our knowledge. But whatever might be the date, the earliest Indian coinage presents such peculiar characteristics of shape and weight as to preclude all idea of its having been derivative[15].

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[12] S. K. Chakraborty, *op. cit.*. pp. 127ff.

[13] *Ibid.*

[14] *Ibid.*, pp. 32ff.

The Choice of the Metals: Local Character of Indian Coinage

An unavoidable fact in the history of coinage is that the choice of the metals was in all countries limited by their availability and geographical distribution, a limitation which was not overcome till the development of interstate commerce. In this line may be interpreted the choice of silver and later of gold in ancient Greece as well as the use in Rome immediately after Caeser's death of gold coins to supplement brass and silver coinage. In India, as we have seen, a gold currency prevailed as early as the Vedic period. Bhandarkar believes even in the existence of a system of gold coinage, rather than mere currency, in that period.[16] But his arguments have hardly been seriously considered by other scholars who have worked in the field. In fact, the earliest systematic coinage of India, known to us, consists of either silver or copper punch-marked coins, but none of gold. It has been argued in explanation of this phenomenon that India was not yet economically prepared for a gold coinage when the punch-marked coins were issued.[17] Doubts have, however, been recently raised very seriously even against the general belief that ancient India had an abundant supply of gold. In Vedic literature, we find, indeed, references to gifts and benefactions of gold of definite weights bestowed by princes on the priesthood, but all this can by no means be said to reflect the general economic condition of the people. Gold bullion may have served higher purposes of exchange even in the later periods. If Herodotus is to be believed, and, curiously enough, doubt has been cast on his veracity on this point,[18] 360 talents of gold dust were paid as yearly tribute to the Persian Emperor by his Indian Satrapy. But Herodotus' account leaves no room for doubt that even as late as the middle of the 5th century B. C., the dust or ingot of gold, calculated by weight, rather than regular coinage, served the purpose of higher currency. About this time the Persian Empire had its gold coinage consisting of *darics*. But while there is evidence to believe that the Persian silver coins called *sigloi* circulated in North West India, then included in the Achaemenid Empire, there is none regarding the corresponding gold coins. It has been suggested in the *Cambridge History of India*, vol. I,[19] that the reason why the Persian *darics* did not circulate in India was the relative cheapness of gold in the country. But, in view of the criticisms of the theory, it seems no longer possible to put our absolute faith in it. The fact that gold coinage was not acceptable to India even when she had an access to it signify, then, that the economic system of the country did not yet favour it. Perhaps India did not reach that stage of economic progress till the Kuṣāṇa period, when a gold coinage was instituted for the first time in the country.

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[15] G. Macdonald, *The Evolution of Coinage* (The Cambridge Manuals of Science and Literature), pp. 13ff.

[16] D. R. Bhandarkar, *Carmichael Lectures*, 1921, pp. 68, 71.

[17] S. K. Chakraborty, *Ancient Indian Numismatics*, pp. 40.

On the other hand, among the punch-marked coins discovered in large numbers practically from all over India, the more numerous are the silver varieties. It is admitted on all hands that India had never an abundant supply of this metal, and had consequently to supplement her indigenous supply by foreign

[18] S. K. Chatterji, *The Achaemenids in India*, pp. 41-42.

[19] G. Macdonald, *The Cambridge History of India I*, p. 343.

imports.[20] Mention may be made in this connexion of the testimony of the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* which was probably composed about the middle of the 1st century A. D. While speaking of the port of Barbaricum, the author of the Periplus mentions, among other commodities, silver and gold plates as imported to it.[21] In relation to Barygaza we are told that a regular trade in coinage went on in that port. Among many commodities imported to it, mention is made of gold and silver coins, on which there is a profit when exchanged for the money of the country.[22] These passages seem to suggest a paucity of silver as well as of gold in India in the time of the Periplus. What is true of this period is, in all likelihood, true of the other periods as well. As regards the reference to the trade in gold and silver coins in the Periplus, the reasonability of the evidence can be realised when we refer to the system of coinage obtaining in the period of which it speaks. The following remarks of Dr. C. H. V. Sutherland with regard to the Greek coinage, are worth quoting in this connexion. Pointing out the difference between the ancient and modern systems of coinage, he observes "that while most modern coins (which are not worth anything like their face value) circulate only as government guaranteed tokens in their country of issue and are not acceptable outside that country, Greek coins were nearly always of good silver, which though it might be tariffed at a particular rate in a particular city and might consequently fall in value when traded beyond that state's boundaries, was always worth money outside those boundaries, being bullion as well as specie. In other words, the difference between enforced face-value and intrinsic bullion-value was, in the case of Greek coins, always comparatively small."[23]

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[20] Cf. Jeremish X, v. 9; A. Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 6.

[21] W. H. Schoff, *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, p. 38.

[22] *Ibid*, pp. 42, 287.

[23] C. H. V. Sutherland, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1942, p. 6.

As regards silver, it is worth mentioning that Pliny states that India produced no silver at all.[24] Of the other metal, copper, however, India had a comparatively abundant supply. The Periplus, as for example, refers to the sending regularly of large vessels from Barygaza to the Persian Gulf, loaded with copper.[25] Moreover, it is believed that copper in early times had a greater purchasing power than at present in India. Prof. Rhys Davids observes that "though the *Kahāpaṇa* would be worth, at the present value of copper, only five-sixth of a penny, its purchasing power then was about equivalent to the purchasing power of a shilling now."[26] It has been argued on these grounds that copper was introduced earlier than silver for coinage in India. The comparative paucity of copper punch-marked coins is explained as due to the fact that copper is more perishable than silver, which, it is believed, was introduced only when the supply of the metal was increased by foreign trade and commerce, and there was also a consequent economic progress so as to favour a silver currency. The Jātaka literature may perhaps throw some welcome light on this question. But, there has been a good deal of divergence among scholars as regards the interpretation of the relevant passages. Bhandarkar finds references in the Jātakas to gold, silver and copper *kārṣāpaṇas*, but Rhys Davids describes the *kahāpaṇa* as simply a copper coin and observes in distinct terms: "No silver coins were used."[27]

There is, however, another aspect of the question. Indian coinage has been described as essentially local in character. This local character manifested itself not only in the varied types and devices of the Indian coins, as noticed even by the 5th century scholar Buddhaghoṣa in the Viśuddhimāgga, but in the choice of the metals and the weight-standards as well. Prof. Rapson observes: "We may gather both directly from the statements of the

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24 A. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

25 W. H. Schoff, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

26 Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 62.

27 *Op. cit.*, p. 61.

law-books, and more generally from the study of the coins, that in ancient India silver and copper coinages were often independent of each other and circulated in different districts. A copper currency was not necessarily regarded as merely auxiliary to the silver currency, but a copper standard prevailed in some districts just as a silver standard prevailed in others."[28] This view seems to be corroborated by the divergent definitions, in different texts, of the *kārṣāpaṇa*, which came to be used by all to denote the standard coin but whose signification varied according to the different metals used in different localities. Manu, for example, clearly defines *kārṣāpaṇa* as copper coin.[29] But, Nārada, quoted in the Vācaspatya, states that the silver *kārṣāpaṇa* was current in the South.[30] The Nānāghāṭ Inscription of Queen Nāyanikā, the Kaṇherī Inscription dated in the 16th year of Srī-Yajña Sātakarṇi, and the Nāsik Inscription of Usavadāta,[31] actually refer to silver coins as *kārṣāpaṇa*. In the Jātakas we also come across references to lead *kārṣāpaṇas*. That different localities had likings for different metals is also attested by actual numismatic evidence. Certain states in ancient India, for example, the Mālavas and Vidiśā, never struck any other metal than copper. On the other hand, even when a gold coinage was introduced by the Kuṣāṇas and silver disappeared altogether from the Imperial coinage, their viceroys, the Khaharātas, still continued to strike silver, although their silver coinage was related, as a Nāsik Inscription of Usavadāta shows, in a certain ratio to the Imperial gold coinage. When the Guptas, in the 5th century A.D., conquered the territories previously ruled over by the Western Kṣatrapas, those territories, it appears, were not yet prepared for a gold standard, and Candragupta II had to issue silver coins for the first time, in close imitation of the silver

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[28] E. J. Rapson, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty etc.*, Introduction. pp. Lxxxv ff.

[29] Manu, VIII. 136; Cf, D. R. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 81-82.

[30] *Nārada Smṛiti. App.* 57; *Sacred Books of the East* XXXIII, p. 231.

[31] D. C. Sirkar, *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 186ff.

From the above identifications it is apparent that the "newly acquired territory" of Jagapala must have comprised a major portion of Bastar district and some part of the Raipur district. The new city of Jagapālapura founded in this region may therefore be no other than Jagadalpur which, at present, is the headquarter of Bastar district.

(h) Rāyapura,[38] identified with modern Raipur, the district town of Chattisgarh was most probably founded by Rai-Brahmadeva, a prince of the Junior branch of the Kalacuris which separated from the senior branch of Ratanpur. Rāyapura was the capital of this branch of the Kalacuris but Khalvāṭikā seems to have been their another capital as is evidenced from the Khalāri Stone Inscription of Haribrahmadeva V, year 1470. It is not certain whether, after separating from the main branch, the prince of this branch first settled at Khalāri or Raipur. If Khalāri was their first capital, it is possible that Rai Brahmadeva may have removed it to Raipur and named the latter after himself as Rāyapura.[39] Dr. V. V. Mirashi however is of opinion that Rāyapura (the Royal city) may have been founded by Rāmcandra, the predecessor of Brahmadeva.[40]

3. Names of certain animals, plants, flowers grains etc.; for example,

(a) Hastigrāma,[41] literally means the village of elephant.

(b) Makarapāṭaka,[42] has been named after Makara (i.e. crocodile). It has been identified with Magarmuhā, 4 miles to the west of Bherāghāṭ near Jabalpur. Its situation described in the record as "on the right bank of Narmadā in the land near the foot of the hills," probably points to the reason why it was so named.

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[38] No. 107

[39] *Raipur District Gazetteer*

[40] *Corpus Inscription Indicarum*, vol. IV part I, page cxxxi, f n. 8

[41] No. 74

[42] No. 60

(c) Sārasaḍōllaka[43] literally means the hamlet of Sārasa i.e. Indian crane, (identified with Sarsi, 34 miles south by west of Candrehe).

(d) Bhramaravadra[44] (identified with modern Bhramarakoṭyamaṇḍala, central portion of Bastar) is named after Bhramara i.e. the large black bee.

(e) Kākyara[45] (modern Kāṅker, a former feudatory state in Chattisgarh) derives its name from Kāk i.e. crow.

(f) Kukkuṭa[46] (not yet identified) seems to be named after Kukkuṭa i.e. cock.

(g) Vaṭa nagara[47] (Vaḍner, Nasik Dist.), literally means the city of Vaṭa trees.

(h) Kusumabhōga[48] (modern Kusumurrā in Dhamatarī Tahsil of Raipur district) literally means bhoga (sub-division of a Viśhaya) of flower.

(i) Khalvāṭikā,[49] (Khalārī in Raipur district) means a garden of Khalva (a liguminous plant).

(j) Taṇḍulapadraka[50] (identified with Tāndaljā in Baroda district) is named after Taṇḍula, meaning grain.

4. Idea of diamension, extent or position; for example,

(a) Bṛihannārikā,[51] literally meaning "the larger Naṛia" (identified with modern Nāriā, near Goraj in Baroda district) gives a vague idea of its dimensional position.

(b) Dīrghāśākhika,[52] literally meaning "long branched" (identified with Dighī near Kārītalāi in Jabalpur district) symbolically indicates the extent of the village.

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[43] No. 46

[44] No. 88

[45] No. 88

[46] No. 77

[47] No. 14

[48] No. 88

[49] No. 108

[50] No. 13

[51] No. 15

[52] No. 42

(c) Antarpāṭa[53] (identified with Amaturrā near Kārītalāi in Jabalpur district) probably named in the sense of "Antardēśa" indicates the location of the village.

B. Viewed Morphologically, the place-names in the Kalacuri records may be classified into various types as follows: —

1. Names ending in "Nagara"; for example,
   - (a) Vaṭanagara[54] (identified with Vadner in Nasik district of Bombay).
   - (b) Lavaṇanagara[55] (not yet identified).
2. Names ending in "Pura"; for example,
   - (a) Ānandapura[56] (same as Ānand in Kaira district in Gujarat).
   - (b) Varelāpura[57] (identified with Barelā near Ratanpur in Bilaspur district).
   - (c) Sōṇṭhivapura[58] (same as Soṇṭhi, near Akaltarā-Bilaspur district).
   - (d) Rāyapura[59] (Raipur town in Chatisgarh); and many others.
3. Names ending in "Grāma"; for example,
   - (a) Rajōgrāma[60] (not yet identified).
   - (b) Nikhatīgrāma[61] (modern Naktauli near Kahla in Gorakhapur district).
   - (c) Devagrāma[62] (modern Dēogavān near Khaira in Vindhya Pradesh).
   - (d) Hastigrāma[63] (unidentified as yet).
4. Names ending in "Pāṭaka"; for example,
   - (a) Chhallipāṭka[64] (same as Chilhāri near Dhavala in Vindhya Pradesh).

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[53] No. 42

[54] No. 14

[55] No. 45

[56] No. 15

[57] No. 96

[58] No. 98

[59] No. 107

[60] No. 46

[61] No. 74

[62] No. 56

[63] No. 74

[64] No. 42

(b) Dhaṅgaṭapāṭaka[65] (identified with Dungarhai near Bilhari in Jabalpur district).

(c) Khailapāṭaka[66] (identified with Khailwārā near Bilhari in Jabalpur district).

(d) Mahiāripāṭaka[67] (same as Mehdiā—Gorakhpur district).

(e) Asathīpāṭaka[68] (identified with Avasthi in Gorakhpur district).

(f) Duāripāṭaka[69] (unidentified as yet).

5. Names ending in "Padraka" for example;

   (a) Nirguṇḍīpadraka[70] (probably modern Nagarvāḍā near Dabhoi)

   (b) Taṇḍulapadraka[71] (Identified with Tandaljā near Sankheḍā in Baroda district etc.

6. Names ending in "Ḍōllaka"; for example,

   (a) Sārasaḍōllaka (as above).

   (b) Vakkaḍōllaka[72] (unidentified as yet).

7. Names ending in "Katin"; for example,

   (a) Karīkatin[73] (Khurai, near Deori Maḍhā in Jabalpur district).

   (b) Asekatin[74] (unidentified).

8. Names ending in "Hrada"; for example,

   (a) Pāshāṇihrada[75] (identified with Saṇiadarī near Saṅkhhedā in Baroda district.

   (b) Cakrahradī[76] (same as Cakadahi near Kariṭalai in Jabalpur district.

9. Names containing the element "Pundikā"; for example,

   (a) Nāsapuṇḍikā[77] (unidentified).

   (b) Pōṇḍikā[78] (unidentified).

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[65] No. 45

[66] Ibid

[67] No. 74

[68] Ibid

[69] Ibid

[70] No. 13

[71] Ibid

[72] No. 46

[73] No. 36

[74] Ibid

[75] No. 13

[76] No. 42

10. Names containing the element "Vaḍa", for example
    - (a) Dhōṭṭavāḍa[79] (unidentified).
    - (b) Khāḍā[80] (identified with Karrā, near Ratanpur in Bilaspur district).
    - (c) Kaṇḍarvāḍa[81] (same as Kunda in Jabalpur district).
    - (d) Kumarī-Vaḍao[82] (identified with Kawarwārā near Goraj in Baroda district).
    - (e) Vaḍadā[83] (probaly the same as Badrâ in Baloda Bazar tahsil of the Raipur district).
    - (f) Avaḍachaṇa[84] (unidentified).
    - (g) Saḍaviḍa[85] (unidentified).
    - (h) Vāna-vaḍada[86] (identified with Balaudā in the Janjagir tahsil of Bilaspur district).
    - (i) Viḍā[87] (unidentified).
    - (j) Bhauḍā[88] (unidentified).

Morphological analysis made above makes it clear that the origin of the place-names in the Kalacuri records may be traced to two different sources, viz. Āryan source and Non-Āryan source.

All those place-names which have prefix of clearly Sanskritic origin or have as suffix Sanskrit words like Nagara, Pura, Grāma, Hṛada, Pāṭ, Kuṭu (corruption from Kūṭ), etc. belong to Āryan source.

Some names apparently containing elements foreign to Sanskrit seem to be of Non-Āryan origin. The reason of this is not far to seek when, as indicated above, we know that people of non-Āryan tribes like Ābhīras and Nāgas used to enjoy dignified position in the Kalacuri courts and they had some settlements within the Kalacuri empire. Mutual cultural influence was therefore natural. Place-names where non-Āryan influence is noticed are:

(a) Names containing the element Vāḍ (No. 10 above)

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77 No. 46

78 Ibid

79 No. 70

80 No. 95

81 No. 64

82 No. 15

83 No. 123

84 No. 74

85 No. 95

86 No. 100

87 No. 45

88 No. 95

whose basic element seems to be a bād. They are most probably of Austric origin (cf. Ho. barre), or they may be explained as having some connection with Dravidian Vaḍā or Kol Oṛak "house."[89] Probably this austric origin is responsible for some names contaning repetition Buḍubuḍū[90] (identified with Burubur near Pāli in Bilaspur district).

(b) Names containing the elments Īng, Aṅga, Puṇḍi etc. e.g. Khijjiṅga[91] (same as Khiching, capital of the Bhañjas), Kōsaṅga[92] (identified with modern Kosagin in former Churai Zamindari in Bilaspur district), Nāspuṇḍikā (as above), Pōṇḍikā (as above) etc. They seem to be of Dravidian origin (cf. Ho. (Kol): Īng "Ī", Aṇga "Little", Puṇḍi "White" etc.[93])

(c) Names containing the elements Nāḍu, Ūṇḍi, Iṇḍi etc. which seem to be of south Indian origin (cf. Telegu, Nāḍu "place" Tamil Unṭi "Home") eg. Seṇāḍu[94] (identified with Sōnada near Kharōd in Bilaspur district), Nāmūṇḍī[95] (place unidentified) Khimmiṇḍi,[96] (identified with Kimeḍi Zamindari in Ganjam district) etc.

Many other place-names in the Kalacuri records which seem to be otherwise unexplained regarding their origin are still awaiting scholarly investigation.

R. K. Lal

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[89] S. K. Chatterjee in "Vedic Age" (Ed. R. C. Majumdar) page 147 and K. P. Goswami: *Journal of the Deptt. of letters*, Calcutta University Vol. XXXIII, pp. 33-35.

[90] No. 94

[91] No. 90

[92] No. 105

[93] W. W. Hunter *A Comparative Dictionary of the Non-Aryan Languages of India and High Asia* (1868)

[94] No. 100

[95] No. 60

[96] No. 90

Some Aspects of the Economic History of Ancient India from Coinage

Evolution of Coinage in the World and in India

'Coin' has been defined and the process of its evolution indicated by Charles Seltman in the following lucid sentences:

"Metal, when used to facilitate exchange of goods, is currency; currency, when used according to specific weight-standards, is money; money stamped with a device is a coin. Metal intrinsically valuable, weight deliberately adjusted, the mark or device of a responsible authority, all three are needed to make a coin.

Mankind first learnt to value, next to weigh, and last of all to stamp metal; or in other words, evolved from barter to metallic currency, abandoned mere currency for money, and then mere money for coinage."[1]

The economy that prevailed in the primitive society was one of barter. A further step forward was made when different units of value were evolved. The objects that were taken as media of exchange in that system varied, as is to be naturally expected, in the different stages of the evolution of the community. Thus in the hunting or food-gathering stage, all economic transactions were used to be carried on with the help of hunting-weapons or skins of animals hunted. But, as the hunting stage passed to the pastoral, and animals were domesticated, the animal itself became the unit of value. The common feature of the primitive economy among all peoples belonging to this stage was that wealth was ascertained in cattle. As the pastoral developed into the agricultural stage, a number of agricultural products, in addition to the cattle, came to be used as the media for transactions. The cow or ox, however, gained such a strong hold on the mind of man as a unit of value that it left its distinct mark even on the metallic currency when the latter was evolved.

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[1] Charles Seltman, *Greek Coins*, p. 1.

The difficulties arising out of exchange transactions through non-metallic objects are great, and these made themselves felt more and more as the community expanded and human needs gradually widened. As Seltman puts it, "You could cut off lengths from bars of gold and silver, you could break off segments of electrum rings, you could chop off blocks of bronze from your ingots; but you could not divide your ox without converting him into beef and by that act decreasing his value."[2] But even when a metallic currency came to be evolved, the force of habit was so great that man could not all at once shake off the long association of the cow as the standard of value. From Mycenae has been unearthed a bronze talent belonging to the 14th century B. C., cast exactly in the shape of a cow-hide after the head and the tail have been clipped off from it. One side of the metallic piece imitates the rough hairy skin of the animal; the other resembles the raw inside with its edges curling inwards. A clay tablet from Cnossus, datable to the 15th century B. C., also seems to represent a metallic piece, exactly of this shape, used for currency. Even as late as the 4th century B. C., the rectangular copper blocks, which constituted the earliest Roman coinage, were cast each with the figure of an ox upon it to indicate its value. The Roman word for cattle was *pecus*; it was the origin of their frequent word for property, *pecunia*, and has descended to the present day in the common English word, *pecuniary*.[3] There are also evidences from other countries of the ancient world to show that the cow or the ox unit was, in a like way, adopted as the standard to which all metallic currencies were adjusted. The gold unit of value in the Aegean became, a little pallet, or a bar, or a ring weighing some 8·5 grammes, the price of a full-grown ox. Brown observes: "The Greek *stater* and the Persian *daric* certainly and possibly the Indian

[2] *Ibid., The Greek Coins*, p. 5.

[3] J. H. Breasted, *Ancient Times*, p. 501.

suvarna, so frequently mentioned by Sanskrit authors, was the value of a full-grown cow in gold, calculated by weight.'"[4]

There were also other units of value that served as media of exchange in primitive communities. As the writer of the section on Coinage in the *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences* informs us, "previous to the invention of coinage, practically all movable goods, sometimes even immovable property, like the carved rocks (feis) on the island Yap, were used as means of exchange."[5] Analogous to the ox-hide talents from Mycenae and the Roman coins with the figure of an ox, are the bronze coins of Olbania, shaped like a Tunny fish, and the electrum coins of Cyzicus bearing the imprint of the fish. Reference may also be made, in this connexion, to the spade, knife and ring moneys of China, the earliest currencies of the country, to the Egyptian gold cowries, the Chinese bronze cowries, the Burmese silver shells, the silver fish hooks of the Indian Ocean, etc.

In the Vedic literature, there are copious instances to show that the cow was used as a principal unit of value in that stage of Indian society. The tribal-pastoral characteristic of the Vedic people is clearly hinted at in the *Ṛgveda*, which refers to *gaviṣṭi*, i.e., search for cows, as one of the words for fight, in the prayers for cows in the *Gṛhyasūtras*.[6] We hear again, in a *Ṛgvedic* hymn, of an image of Indra being sold for ten cows;[7] in the *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa*, of Śunaḥśepa being purchased from his father in exchange for one hundred cows,[8] and so on. The *Gṛhyasūtras* prescribe cows for sacrificial fees, and the word *dakṣiṇā*, as has been aptly pointed out,[9] owed its origin to the fact that the cow as a sacrificial fee was placed on the right side of the priest to be rewarded. It is curious to note that even as late as the 15th century A.D. Raghunandan, the Bengali jurist, assigns in his *Prāyaścittatattvam*, the foremost place to the cow in point of sanctity as gift to a priest. Next in the order of preference come cowries, then copper, and last of all, silver or gold. This is but one instance, out of many, of the long established conservatism of the Hindu priesthood, as also of the society as a whole.

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[4] C. J. Brown, *The Coins of India*, p. 13.

[5] M. Palyi, *Coinage* (The Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences. III-IV), p. 622.

[6] A. C. Das, *Ṛgvedic Culture*, pp. 135ff.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 145; *Ṛgveda*, IV. 24. 10.

[8] *Aitareya Brahmaṇa*, V, xxii, 9.

[9] A. B. Keith, *The Cambridge History of India I*, p. 99.

There is evidence, however, to show that a metallic currency had already been evolved in the *Ṛgvedic* period. The *Niṣka*, originally a gold ornament worn on the neck, as would appear from such epithets as *Niṣkagrīva*, or *Niṣkakaṇṭha*,[10] seems to have come already to denote a medium of exchange. Attention is drawn by scholars to a hymn of the *Ṛgveda* where a singer celebrates the receipt of a hundred *Niṣka* and a hundred steeds, and it is pointed out that *Niṣka* here must denote currency, inasmuch as the recipient could hardly require the *Niṣka* merely for purposes of personal adornment.[11] Gold ornaments were in use as media of exchange in other ancient societies too, for instance, in Egypt and Babylonia. In the age of the Later Saṁhitās and Brāhmaṇas, where frequent references to *Kṛṣṇala*, *Śatamāna*, etc. are made in addition to *Niṣka*, a regular system of metallic currency based on definite weight-standards seems to have evolved. But the transition from a non-metallic to a metallic system of economic transactions, which is so interestingly brought to light by archaeological finds in other parts of the world, is, in the case of India, recorded only in different strata of its literature, and no actual specimen of the earliest currency of the country has yet come down to us.

Nor is it possible, in the present state of our knowledge, to trace the early stages in the evolution of the coinage itself in India so clearly and definitely as on the shores of the Aegean. The experience of the numismatists is that it was the merchants in all countries of the ancient world who took the initiative in

[10] *Ṛgveda*, V. 19. 3.

[11] S. K. Chakrabortty, *Ancient Indian Numismatics*, p. 21.

the introduction of coinage in order to promote their own commercial interests, and that it was only when the advantages of the institution became manifest and its national importance realised that the States stepped into the place of the private issuers.[12] Things must presumably have taken a similar course in India as well.[13] Reference may here be made to certain solid silver ingots having only three punches on one face of them that are generally considered to represent the earliest extant currency of the country. The punches were, in all likelihood, impressed by private traders, as the metal blanks passed through their hands, for quick recognition and in order to save themselves the trouble of repeatedly testing their value and purity. We may recall, in this connexion, the simple device adopted by the Ionian merchants to mark the electrum dumps by nails that passed as currency among them before the introduction of a State coinage by a Lydian king. But by the time when the punch-marked coins were in circulation in India, the private moneys seem to have already been superseded by a regular State coinage.

In the West, the first coin of the domain was introduced in Lydia, somewhere towards the close of the 8th or the beginning of the 7th century B.C. But in the East, in China and India, coinage originated independently, as is now generally belived, without any foreign influence or specific State help. According to the Chinese Annals, coinage was introduced in that country by Cheng, the second king of Chou, as far back as 1091 B.C. About the antiquity of the Indian coinage, however, there has been a divergence of opinion among scholars, and various dates have been proposed, ranging from the pre-historic times to about the 4th century B.C.[14] The discovery at Bhir mound, Taxila, of the silver punch-marked coins dated by a fresh coin of Philip Aridaeus to about 317 B.C., the reference by Quintus Curtius to the presentation of eighty talents of *signati argenti*, i e., stamped silver, by Omphis, king of Taxila, to Alexander the Great in 326 B.C., the plastic forms of coins on the Bhārhut and Mahābodhi *stūpas* in connection with the illustration of the Buddhist legend of the purchase of the Jetavana at Srāvastī by the merchant Anāthapiṇḍika, etc., may give us an idea about the lower limit of the date of the introduction of coinage in India. The upper limit, however, cannot be determined with certainty in the present state of our knowledge. But whatever might be the date, the earliest Indian coinage presents such peculiar characteristics of shape and weight as to preclude all idea of its having been derivative[15].

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[12] S. K. Chakraborty, *op. cit.*. pp. 127ff.

[13] *Ibid.*

[14] *Ibid.*, pp. 32ff.

The Choice of the Metals: Local Character of Indian Coinage

An unavoidable fact in the history of coinage is that the choice of the metals was in all countries limited by their availability and geographical distribution, a limitation which was not overcome till the development of interstate commerce. In this line may be interpreted the choice of silver and later of gold in ancient Greece as well as the use in Rome immediately after Caeser's death of gold coins to supplement brass and silver coinage. In India, as we have seen, a gold currency prevailed as early as the Vedic period. Bhandarkar believes even in the existence of a system of gold coinage, rather than mere currency, in that period.[16] But his arguments have hardly been seriously considered by other scholars who have worked in the field. In fact, the earliest systematic coinage of India, known to us, consists of either silver or copper punch-marked coins, but none of gold. It has been argued in explanation of this phenomenon that India was not yet economically prepared for a gold coinage when the punch-marked coins were issued.[17] Doubts have, however, been recently raised very seriously even against the general belief that ancient India had an abundant supply of gold. In Vedic literature, we find, indeed, references to gifts and benefactions of gold of definite weights bestowed by princes on the priesthood, but all this can by no means be said to reflect the general economic condition of the people. Gold bullion may have served higher purposes of exchange even in the later periods. If Herodotus is to be believed, and, curiously enough, doubt has been cast on his veracity on this point,[18] 360 talents of gold dust were paid as yearly tribute to the Persian Emperor by his Indian Satrapy. But Herodotus' account leaves no room for doubt that even as late as the middle of the 5th century B. C., the dust or ingot of gold, calculated by weight, rather than regular coinage, served the purpose of higher currency. About this time the Persian Empire had its gold coinage consisting of *darics*. But while there is evidence to believe that the Persian silver coins called *sigloi* circulated in North West India, then included in the Achaemenid Empire, there is none regarding the corresponding gold coins. It has been suggested in the *Cambridge History of India*, vol. I,[19] that the reason why the Persian *darics* did not circulate in India was the relative cheapness of gold in the country. But, in view of the criticisms of the theory, it seems no longer possible to put our absolute faith in it. The fact that gold coinage was not acceptable to India even when she had an access to it signify, then, that the economic system of the country did not yet favour it. Perhaps India did not reach that stage of economic progress till the Kuṣāṇa period, when a gold coinage was instituted for the first time in the country.

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[15] G. Macdonald, *The Evolution of Coinage* (The Cambridge Manuals of Science and Literature), pp. 13ff.

[16] D. R. Bhandarkar, *Carmichael Lectures*, 1921, pp. 68, 71.

[17] S. K. Chakraborty, *Ancient Indian Numismatics*, pp. 40.

On the other hand, among the punch-marked coins discovered in large numbers practically from all over India, the more numerous are the silver varieties. It is admitted on all hands that India had never an abundant supply of this metal, and had consequently to supplement her indigenous supply by foreign

[18] S. K. Chatterji, *The Achaemenids in India*, pp. 41-42.

[19] G. Macdonald, *The Cambridge History of India I*, p. 343.

imports.[20] Mention may be made in this connexion of the testimony of the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* which was probably composed about the middle of the 1st century A. D. While speaking of the port of Barbaricum, the author of the Periplus mentions, among other commodities, silver and gold plates as imported to it.[21] In relation to Barygaza we are told that a regular trade in coinage went on in that port. Among many commodities imported to it, mention is made of gold and silver coins, on which there is a profit when exchanged for the money of the country.[22] These passages seem to suggest a paucity of silver as well as of gold in India in the time of the Periplus. What is true of this period is, in all likelihood, true of the other periods as well. As regards the reference to the trade in gold and silver coins in the Periplus, the reasonability of the evidence can be realised when we refer to the system of coinage obtaining in the period of which it speaks. The following remarks of Dr. C. H. V. Sutherland with regard to the Greek coinage, are worth quoting in this connexion. Pointing out the difference between the ancient and modern systems of coinage, he observes "that while most modern coins (which are not worth anything like their face value) circulate only as government guaranteed tokens in their country of issue and are not acceptable outside that country, Greek coins were nearly always of good silver, which though it might be tariffed at a particular rate in a particular city and might consequently fall in value when traded beyond that state's boundaries, was always worth money outside those boundaries, being bullion as well as specie. In other words, the difference between enforced face-value and intrinsic bullion-value was, in the case of Greek coins, always comparatively small."[23]

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[20] Cf. Jeremish X, v. 9; A. Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 6.

[21] W. H. Schoff, *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, p. 38.

[22] *Ibid*, pp. 42, 287.

[23] C. H. V. Sutherland, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1942, p. 6.

As regards silver, it is worth mentioning that Pliny states that India produced no silver at all.[24] Of the other metal, copper, however, India had a comparatively abundant supply. The Periplus, as for example, refers to the sending regularly of large vessels from Barygaza to the Persian Gulf, loaded with copper.[25] Moreover, it is believed that copper in early times had a greater purchasing power than at present in India. Prof. Rhys Davids observes that "though the *Kahāpaṇa* would be worth, at the present value of copper, only five-sixth of a penny, its purchasing power then was about equivalent to the purchasing power of a shilling now."[26] It has been argued on these grounds that copper was introduced earlier than silver for coinage in India. The comparative paucity of copper punch-marked coins is explained as due to the fact that copper is more perishable than silver, which, it is believed, was introduced only when the supply of the metal was increased by foreign trade and commerce, and there was also a consequent economic progress so as to favour a silver currency. The Jātaka literature may perhaps throw some welcome light on this question. But, there has been a good deal of divergence among scholars as regards the interpretation of the relevant passages. Bhandarkar finds references in the Jātakas to gold, silver and copper *kārṣāpaṇas*, but Rhys Davids describes the *kahāpaṇa* as simply a copper coin and observes in distinct terms: "No silver coins were used."[27]

There is, however, another aspect of the question. Indian coinage has been described as essentially local in character. This local character manifested itself not only in the varied types and devices of the Indian coins, as noticed even by the 5th century scholar Buddhaghoṣa in the Viśuddhimāgga, but in the choice of the metals and the weight-standards as well. Prof. Rapson observes: "We may gather both directly from the statements of the

[24] A. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

[25] W. H. Schoff, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

[26] Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 62.

[27] *Op. cit.*, p. 61.

law-books, and more generally from the study of the coins, that in ancient India silver and copper coinages were often independent of each other and circulated in different districts. A copper currency was not necessarily regarded as merely auxiliary to the silver currency, but a copper standard prevailed in some districts just as a silver standard prevailed in others."[28] This view seems to be corroborated by the divergent definitions, in different texts, of the *kārṣāpaṇa*, which came to be used by all to denote the standard coin but whose signification varied according to the different metals used in different localities. Manu, for example, clearly defines *kārṣāpaṇa* as copper coin.[29] But, Nārada, quoted in the Vācaspatya, states that the silver *kārṣāpaṇa* was current in the South.[30] The Nānāghāṭ Inscription of Queen Nāyanikā, the Kaṇherī Inscription dated in the 16th year of Srī-Yajña Sātakarṇi, and the Nāsik Inscription of Usavadāta,[31] actually refer to silver coins as *kārṣāpaṇa*. In the Jātakas we also come across references to lead *kārṣāpaṇas*. That different localities had likings for different metals is also attested by actual numismatic evidence. Certain states in ancient India, for example, the Mālavas and Vidiśā, never struck any other metal than copper. On the other hand, even when a gold coinage was introduced by the Kuṣāṇas and silver disappeared altogether from the Imperial coinage, their viceroys, the Khaharātas, still continued to strike silver, although their silver coinage was related, as a Nāsik Inscription of Usavadāta shows, in a certain ratio to the Imperial gold coinage. When the Guptas, in the 5th century A.D., conquered the territories previously ruled over by the Western Kṣatrapas, those territories, it appears, were not yet prepared for a gold standard, and Candragupta II had to issue silver coins for the first time, in close imitation of the silver

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[28] E. J. Rapson, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty etc.*, Introduction. pp. Lxxxv ff.

[29] Manu, VIII. 136; Cf, D. R. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 81-82.

[30] *Nārada Smṛiti. App.* 57; *Sacred Books of the East XXXIII*, p. 231.

[31] D. C. Sirkar, *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 186ff.

It is a leaf shaken by the wind, not her lips through anger; those are the flowers that are falling, not the drops of tears; this is the agitated humming of these bees, not the groan of one in distress. Alas, this tender creeper is united with the tree, but not my beloved (with myself).

12. सदा चाटूञ्जल्पन् सततमुपहारार्पितमना
मुखं पश्यन्नित्यं सततविभिन्नाञ्जलिपुटः ।
अनिच्छन्निच्छन् वा क्षणमपि न पार्श्वं त्यजति यः
स किं कामी स्त्रीणामयमशरणो भृत्यपुरुषः ॥ (शिखरिणी)

SKM—II. 80. 1

Is this one, always uttering flattering words, ever attentive to presents, constantly beholding the face, ceaselessly folding his hands, willingly or unwillingly not leaving the side for a moment, a lover of women or a helpless servant ?

KESAVASENA

1. आक्षिप्ता चामरश्रीः प्रसभमपहृतः पौण्डरीको विलासः
प्रच्छन्नो वीरकम्बुः समजनि विहितः कण्ठभाराय हारः ।
लुप्तो हासप्रकाशः कमपि परिभवं प्रापितः पुष्पराशि-
श्चन्द्राभैर्यद्यशोभिः प्रतिधरणीभुजां निह्नुता कि च कीर्तिः ॥

(स्रग्धरा)

SKM—III. 49. 1

By whose fame, lustrous like the moon, the beauty of the chowry has been cast off, the grace of the lotus forcibly taken away, the hero's conch hidden, the necklace has become a burden to the neck, the radiance of laughter has disappeared, the heap of flowers has been made to suffer unspeakable contempt and the glory of rival kings has been eclipsed.

2. आहूताद्य मयोत्सवे निशि गृहं शून्यं विमुच्यागता
क्षीवः प्रेष्यजनः कथं कुलवधूरेकाकिनी यास्यति ।
वत्स त्वं तदिमां नयालयमिति श्रुत्वा यशोदागिरो
राधामाधवयोर्जयन्ति मधुरस्मेरालसा दृष्टयः ॥ (शार्दूलविक्रीडित)

SKM—I.54.5
PV—206 (attributes it
to Lakṣmaṇasena)

Being invited by me to-day to the festival, she has come at night leaving her home vacant. The servants are drunk; how will the virtuous wife go alone? My child, so you please escort her home—victorious are the sweet and tired glances of Rādhā and Mādhava who heard these words of Yaśodā.

3. कैलासे निह्नुतश्रीः परिपिहितवपुः पार्वणः श्वेतभानुः
शेषः प्रच्छन्नवेशः कलयति न रुचिं जाह्नवीवारिवेणिः ।
पीतः क्षीराम्बुराशिः प्रसभमपहृतः कुञ्जरो देवभर्त्तु-
र्यत्कीर्त्तीनां विवर्त्तैरजनि स भगवानेकदन्तोऽप्यदन्तः ॥

(स्रग्धरा)

SKM—III. 52. 3

By the evolution of whose fame the charm of Kailāsa is concealed, the full moon has its form completely eclipsed, (the serpent) Śeṣa is hidden, the waves of the Ganges do not assume beauty, the milky ocean has been drunk up, the elephant of the lord of gods (Airāvata) is forcibly carried away, and that god, though possessed of one tooth, has become toothless.

2-a महोत्सवे for मयोत्सवे, निज for निशि, विलोक्य for विमुच्य ।
The similarity of this verse with the following is striking:—

मेघैर्मेदुरमम्बरं वनभुवः श्यामास्तमालद्रुमै-
र्नक्तं भीरुरयं त्वमेव तदिमं राधे गृहं प्रापय ।
इत्थं नन्दनिदेशतश्चलितयोः प्रत्यध्वकुञ्जद्रुमं
राधामाधवयोर्जयन्ति यमुनाकूले रहः केलयः ॥

Gita-govinda—I. 1

3-a मिलित for पिहित ।

4. पाण्डुलक्ष्मीकुचाभोगे नर्तिता हरिणा दृशः ।
ओत्सुक्यादिव तेनादौ निहिता वरणस्रजः ॥ (अनुष्टुप्)

SKM—I. 65. 2

Hari cast his glances over the pale expanse of Lakṣmī's breasts. It was out of curiosity, as it were, that he. first placed (on her) the garlands (indicative) of choice.

5. यद्वर्त्मोद्याति रोद्धुं त्रिपुरहरगिरिग्रामणीस्तन्नियन्तुं
कौवेरीं कुम्भजन्मा व्रजति यदि तदा दुर्धरा विन्ध्यवृद्धिः ।
इत्थं यत्कीर्तिराशौ त्रिदशपतिपुराक्रान्तिदत्तप्रयाणे-
चिन्ताग्निः क्रूरकर्मा व्यथयति हृदयं तेजसामीश्वरस्य ॥

(स्रग्धरा)

SKM—III. 52. 4

If the jar-born one (i.e. Sage Agastya) proceeds northward to curb him to obstruct whose way the greatest of the mountains, belonging to the destroyer of Tripura, rises up, then the growth of the Vindhya will be irresistible. Thus, whose mass of fame being sent to invade the city of the lord of gods, the fire of anxiety, of cruel deeds, is agonising the heart of the lord of effulgence (i.e. the sun).

6. लीलासद्मप्रदीपस्त्रिपुरविजयिनः स्वर्णदीकेलिहंसः
कन्दर्पोल्लासबीजं रतिरसकलहक्लेशविच्छेदचक्रम् ।
कल्हाराद्वैतवन्धुस्तिमिरजलनिधेरुच्छिखो वाडवाग्नि-
र्लक्ष्म्याः क्रीडारविन्दं जयति भुजभुवां वंशकन्दः सुधांशुः ॥

(स्रग्धरा)

SKM—I. 72. 5

Victorious is the moon, the lamp in the pleasure-house of the conqueror of Tripura (i.e Śiva), the sportive swan in the celestial rivet, the source of Cupid's ecstasy, the disc for removing

4-a पान्तु for पाण्डु ।

6-d भुजभू : The Kṣatriyas are supposed to have been born out of the arms of the Purùṣa, c.f. *Puruṣa-sūkta*, Ṛg Veda, X. 90.12.

the misery of quarrels arising out of the pleasure of love, the only friend of the lily, the flaming submarine fire of the ocean of darkness, the toy-lotus of Lakṣmī and the root of the family of Kṣatriyas.

7· सेयं चन्द्रकलेति नागवनितानेत्रोत्पलैरर्चिता
मद्भारापगमक्षमेति फणिना सानन्दमालोकिता ।
दिङ्नागैः सरलीकृतायतकरैः स्पृष्टा मृणालाशया
भित्त्वोर्वीमभिनिःसृता मधुरिपोर्दंष्ट्रा चिरं पातु वः ॥

(शार्दलविक्रीडित)

SKM—I.39·3

May that tusk of the adversary of Madhu protect you for ever—the tusk that has emerged after penetrating the earth, that is worshipped with lotuses in the shape of the eyes of female serpents who think it to be the moon's digit, joyfully looked at by the Coluber serpent taking it to be able to remove its burden, that is touched with the straightened and outstretched trunks by the elephants of the quarters with the hope of a lotus-fibre.

S. C. Banerji

On Some Instances of Vowel-Metathesis in Prakrit[*]

There are a few instances of meta-thesis in Hemacandra's Prākrit grammar, which show the mutual change of place between two consonants occurring mostly in the consecutive syllables. Here the vowels, which immediately follow the consonants, however, remain undisturbed and do not undergo any modification in course of *Umstellung* of the consonantal elements. We find the following instances in Hemacandra's grammar: *kareṇū* >*kaṇerū*, *vārāṇasī*>*vāṇārasī*, *ālāṇa*>*āṇāla*, *acalapura*>*alacapura*, *mahārāṣṭra* > *marahaṭṭha*, *hrada* > *draha*, *haritāla* > *haliāra*, *laghuka*>*halua* and *lalāṭa*>*ṇaḍāla*.[1] Now among these examples all the Pkt. forms barring *alacapura*, *marahaṭṭḥa* and *draha* clearly show that the vocalic elements of the consonants, which have been subject to transformation, have remained unaltered during their phonetic modification. The three forms, which have been excepted, do not however disprove the rule but these are unsuitable for the demonstration of the phenomenon, as they show the same vowel i.e. *a* in both the consonants, which have mutually changed their places.

Now, a phenomenon, which is kindred to it, is the meta-thesis of vowels i.e. vowels occurring in the consecutive syllables are sometimes transposed without any shifting of the consonantal elements, after which they appear. The phenomenon has not been mentioned either by Pischel or by Geiger. So far as we know it was probably suggested by Jules Bloch,[2] who in course of explanation of a word, referred to this phenomenon as appearing in the Pkt. words. But as adequate light has not been thrown on the problem it has not to come to the notice of the scholars and did not get the consideration, which it rightly deserved.

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[*] Read at the Srinagar session of the All India Oriental Conference.

[1] Prakrit grammar of Hemacandra II. 116-123.

[2] Bloch expresses this view in his *La Formation de la langue Marathe*, Phonology, not available at present.

Let us go into the details of the problem. While explaining the word *vṛścika*, that develops into *viñchua* in Pkt., Pischel was at some difficulty regarding the transformation of the vowel *i* to *u* occurring in the second syllable of the word. As he did not find a suitable explanation he surmised that Pkt. *viñchua* came not directly from Skt. *vṛścika* but from a hypothetical form like **vṛścuka*, presumed from the trend of sound-changes in Pkt. In his own words we find: "Sometimes dialectally the suffix —*uka* appears for the Skt. suffix—*ika*, with the result that the vowel *u* appears for *i* only apparently. Thus M. *viṁchua*, *viṁcua*, *vicchua*, Amg. *vicchua* beside M. *viṁchia*, Amg. *vicchia*=*vṛścika*."[3] As it evidently follows the vowel *ṛ* in the initial syllable of the word has been assumed to have been changed into *i* in Pkt.; in fact it has been stated clearly by Pischel, and this being a common phenomenon did not arouse any doubt into one's mind.[4] So with the substitution of —*uka* for —*ika* the form stands as **vṛścuka*, that is presumably the source of the Pkt. form according to Pischel's surmise. The line of development in this case stands as: **vṛścuka*>*vicchua*> *viñchua*.

Now, Jules Bloch gave a quite different explanation of the form. According to him *vṛścika* at first develops into *vucchia* or *vuñchia* in Pkt., which by the meta-thesis of vowels, becomes transformed further into *vicchua* or *viñchua*. So the explanation is simple and it relieves one immediately of the trouble of making an assumption of a hypothetical form, provided we are ready to accept the phenomenon of the meta-thesis of vowels as an established fact. We believe that there cannot be any real objection to the acceptance of this phonetic feature, because there are some other forms in Pkt., which can be very nicely explained by assuming the working of this phonetic tendency in the respective cases.

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[3] Zuweilen ist dialektisch für Skt-*ika* eingetreten Suffix-*uka* so dass scheinbar *u* für *i* steht. So M. *viṁchua*, *viṁcua*, *vicchua*, Amg. *vicchuya* neben M. *viṁchia*, Amg. *vicchiya*=*vṛścika*.

[4] Pischel, *grammatik* §50.

Let us take another example. According to Hemacandra the word *pūtara* becomes changed to *pora* in Pkt. (I. 170). As the word shows it presupposes the contraction of the contact vowels *ū*+*a* to *o*, which is not ordinarily found in Pkt. (*pūtara*>*pūara*>*pora*). Pischel, who does not recognise this kind of contraction, is constrained to express: "Unklar ist pora=pūtara" (Hem. I. 170, Gk § 166). The explanation of Jacobi, according to whom the elision of the vowel of the second syllable, consequent on the initial stress, is surely responsible for the development of the form *pūtara* to *pora*[5] does not seem to be at all convincing, since in such a case a form like *putta* (*putta*<*pūtra* <*pūtara*) could alone be expected, exclusive of any other. So this explanation of Jacobi cannot be accepted in spite of its coming from a great authority like him. But if we assume the occurrence of vowel-meta-thesis in the form all the obstacles disappear. According to this assumption the line of development is: *pūtara*>*patūra*>*paūra*>*pora*. Here there happens the contraction of the contact-vowels *a* and *ū* to *o*—a phenomenon which Pischel admits in his Grammatik (§ 166).

According to Hem. I. 168 the word *karṇikāra* may be changed to *kaṇṇera* optionally in Prākrit. Pischel does not speak anything regarding the origin of the vowel *e* in the form. As in the case *pūtara* there was objection against the development of the contact-vowels *ū* and *a* to *o* so here too there might rise the same voice of protest against the assumption of the contact-vowels *i* and *ā* to *e* (*karṇikāra>kaṇṇiāra>kaṇṇera*). Pischel does not admit this sort of phonetic development. Jacobi has given an explanation, which is more confusing to us. According to him the chief accent on the third syllable (i.e. on the long vowel *ā*) and the subsidiary on the first are pre-conditions for the loss of the vowel in the second syllable leading ultimately to the reduction of the vowel *ā* to *i* and its final transformation into *e*;[6] (*karṇikāra>kaṇṇiāra>kaṇṇāra>kaṇṇira>kaṇṇera*). We cannot understand why the vowel *ā* should change its character and be transformed into *i* even if there be extreme weakening in the syllable. But if we assume the occurrence of meta-thesis of vowels in the second and the third syllables of the word i.e. of *i* and *ā* all the difficulties disappear; in such a case are the stages of development: *karṇikāra>kaṇṇiāra>kaṇṇāira* (by transposition of vowels)>*kaṇṇaira* (the initial stress causing the shortening of the long vowel here)>*kaṇṇera*. One should note that here the contraction of the vowels *a*+*i* to *e* takes place, which, as we have mentioned before, is a quite common phenomenon in the speech.

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[5] The following statement of Jacobi is to be noted: "Ich führe nun zunächst eine Anzahl von Beispielen, in denen die nachtonige Silbe syncopirt wurde, aus dem Prākrit an. *pūgapbala* wird durch *pūgpbala* zu *poppbala* und *pūtara* zu *pora* (Hem. I. 170), *rājakula* und *dévakula* zu *rāula* und *deula*." [Trans: Now I cite from Prākrit a number of examples in which the post-accented syllable has been syncopated. *pūgapbala* through the intermediate stage **pūgpbala* becomes changed to *poppbala* and *pūtara becomes* changed to *pora*, rājakula and dévakula become changed to *rāula* and *deula* respectively.] Jacobi, *Auf der Betonnung in der klassischen Sanskrit und den Prākrit Dialekten.* Z. D. M. G. vol. 47, pp. 574 ff.

The word *vicakila* becomes *veilla* in Pkt. according to Hem. I. 166. Here too at the very first glance we find apparently a contraction of the contact vowels *i*+*a* to *e*, (*vicakila>viaila>veilla*). We do not find any explanation of the development of the vowel *e* from the consecutive vowels *i* and *a* in Pischel's Grammatik. We are inclined to assume the meta-thesis of vowels in the present word too, which alone could be a pre-condition to the development of a contraction, as noted in the vocable concerned. The line of change, as we surmise, is thus: ***vicakila*** *>viaila>vaiila>vaiilla* (doubling might be due to the influence of accent according to Pischel § 194)>*veilla*.

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[6] Jacobi observes: Von besonderem Interesse ist folgender Fall. *karṇikāra* wurde entweder *kaṇṇiāra* oder *kaṇṇera*. In letzer Form wurde dāt *ā* durch das reducirte *i* zu *e* gefärbt. [Trans: The following instance is of special interest. *karṇikāra* becomes either *kaṇṇiāra* or *kaṇṇera*. In the latter *ā* becomes changed to *e* through reduced *i*]—Jacobi, ibid, p. 578.

Here we want to point out a fact, which seems to go in support of our proposition. While dealing with the changes of the Skt. vowels in Pkt. Hemacandra mentions along with the word *vicakila* two more words, which are assumed to have undergone the same course of transformation as this word itself. The two words, referred to, are *thavira* and *ayaskāra*, which have become *thera* and *ekkāra* respectively in Pkt., their simultaneous mention along with *vicakila* perhaps speaks for a tacit assumption that all these three words have been subject to the working of the same phonetic tendencies. Now, according to the grammarian the vowel of the initial syllable in all these cases becomes changed to *e* with the concomitant suppression of the entire second syllable in each case. But in fact such is not the phenomenon. Here the ordinary principles of sound changes have been in action. So the usual course of development, which alone is expected, shows the following stages: *sthavira>thaira> thera*, *ayaskāra>aïkkāra* (by Samprasāraṇa, Pischel § 151)> *ekkāra*. So here the question of suppression of a syllable, which the grammarian asserts, does not arise. As these words, with which *vicakila* is mentioned, demonstrate the occurrence of a contraction of *a*- and *i*- vowels to *e*, so the same phenomenon (i.e. contraction of $a+i$ to *e*) might be assumed to have happened with regard to the development of the word *vicakila*; but this can be only possible if we assume the occurrence of vowel-metathesis in the first two syllables of the word—which in fact prepares the ground for the manifestation of the phenomenon (i.e. contraction $a+i$ to *e*).

According to our estimate the Pkt word *paḍhuma*, which stands for Skt *prathama*, also shows the occurrence of vowel metathesis. Here vowel *a* of the first syllable becomes changed to *u* on account of its existence after a labial sound; then this *u* transposes its place with the succeeding vowel *a* of the second syllable. Obviously the stages of the development here are: *prathama>paḍhama>puḍhama>paḍhuma.* Again, the word *jahuṭṭhila* too, which develops from skt *yudhisṭhira,* perhaps bears evidence for its submission to this phenomenon (i. e. vowel metathesis). Here the vowel *i* of the second syllable becomes changed to *a* by dissimilation and this *a* exchanges position with the vowel *u* of the preceding syllable. So here the stages of development should be *yudhisṭhira<juhiṭṭhila<juhaṭṭhila<jahuṭṭhila.* Now according to Pischel § 104, the word *paḍhuma* can be otherwise explained, as here the vowel *a* of the second syllable might be changed to *u* due to its occurrence exactly before a labial sound. But regarding the change of vowels in the word *jahuṭṭhila,* Pischel does not speak anything, but simply mentions the modification, noted here. It is just a sporadic development according to him. There is a third possibility also. Both these words might be the products of scribal inaccuracies i.e. they develop as a result of scribal mistakes. But if these possibilities be ruled out one might see the occurrence of the phenomenon of vowel metathesis in the development of these two words.

According to Hem. I. 172 and 173 the initial vowel of the indeclinable *uta* and the prefix *upa* becomes changed to *o* with the suppression of the following consonant, i. e. of *ta* and *pa* respectively e. g. *uta vanam>o vaṇam, upahasati>ohasai;* such a phenomenon strongly pleads for the acceptance of the contraction of the contact vowels *u* and *a* to *o*, which, as shown above, has not been particularly mentioned in any of the scientific treatises. Thus Hemacandra's statement compels one to admit the following successive stages of development as *uta>ua>o, upa>ua>o.* But on the evidences supplied above, we are inclined to believe that in both these cases there has happened a metathesis of vowels. Such presumption alone could be helpful in explaining the origin of the vowel *o*, which appears as the outcome of transformation of the particles *uta* and *upa* in Pkt. So according to our belief the stages of development of the two words are: *uta>ua>au>o, upa>ua>au>o.*

In the *Prākrita-paiṅgala* Mātrā, 198 there occur two words *cale* and *pale*[7], which most of the commentators assume to be the forms of the past participle of the roots *cal* and *pat* respectively i.e. these are equivalent to the Skt. forms *calita* and *patita*. If these two words of late Ap. actually correspond to Skt. present indicative forms *calati* and *patati* respectively, as suggested by one commentator, there is nothing wrong in the contraction of the contact vowels *a* and *i* to *e*, (i.e. *calati>calaī>cale*, *patati> paḍaī>palaī>pale*). But if they really represent the Skt. forms of the past participle they correspond to *calita* and *patita*. Here the assumption of the occurrence of vowel-metathesis becomes an unavoidable necessity, which becomes evident from the following stages of development of the forms: *calita>calia>calaī>cale*, *patita>paḍia palia>palaī>pale*. One should note in this connection that the phenomenon is noticed in the language of the Sandesā-rāsaka too. There the editor of the text points out that the word *visuṁṭhalaya* proceeds from the Skt. *visaṁṭhulaya* as a result of working of this phonetic tendency (§ 40, p. 18).

On the basis of the above facts it is possible for us to accept vowel-metathesis as a linguistic phenomenon in the speech, though the feature is conspicuous by its absence in the scientific treatises of Pischel and Geiger. If any strong evidence comes to contradict the view sometime in the future then we shall be compelled to fall back upon such an assumption that contractions of the nature of *ī+ā=e* or *ū+ā=o* are facts of common occurrence in Pkt. notwithstanding its ignorance by eminent scholars. But when a great scholar like Jules Bloch has definitely expressed his views in favour of the occurrence of the phenomenon in Prākrit and the assumption of the same has facilitated the explanation of some Pkt. words the same may be accepted—at least tentatively, until the proposition be supported by facts forthcoming from other quarters. Investigation into the field of the NIA languages[8] may also he helpful in reaching a more definite conclusion.

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[7] The verse occurs as:

je kijjia dhāla jiṇṇu ṇivālā
bhoṭṭantā piṭṭanta cale
bhañjāvia ciṇā dappahi hiṇā
lohāvala hākanda pale /
oḍḍā uḍḍāvia kitti pāvia
molia mālava-rāa-vale
telaṅgā bhaggia puṇavi ṇa laggia
kāsirāā jakhaṇa cale / / Ed. Asiatic Society.

S. N. Ghosal

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[8] In his introduction to the *Ukti-vyakti-prakaraṇa*, a text of old Awadhi, S. K. Chatterji mentions certain forms, which are highly suggestive of vowel-metathesis. In pages 6 and 9 respectively he refers to the words *pāṇḍe* coming from *paṇḍita* (>*paṇḍia*>*pāṇḍia*>*pāṇḍai*>*pāṇḍe*) and *sondha* from *sugandha* (>*suandha*>*saündha*≥*sondha*). Here if we do not be ready to admit vowel metathesis we must say that there happens contractions of *i*+*a* to *e* and *u*+*a* to *o* in the speech. In fact the phenomenon of vowel metathesis is noted in some other NIA speeches. Its occurrence in Assamese has been clearly shown by B. Kakati, Cf. *Assamese its Formation and Development*, sec 379, p. 170.

Pre-Historic Mewar—An Appraisal

It is an axiomatic truth, that the character of a given region is largely governed by its physical and geographical features, which in their turn, have been shaped by climatic and geological conditions. The rugged rocky terrain, originally covered with tropical flora, desert, sand-dunes with outcrops of gneiss or granite, along with flat plains of high fertility, the landlocked nature of the area, lack of navigable rivers, gradual climatic changes and dessication, are all physiographic features, which produced modern Rajasthan, of which Mewar is a part. Rajasthan has two natural divisions: the eastern half including Aravallis and the western half.

The term Mewar has two connotations: wider and smaller. Its ancient name as found in inscriptions was Meḍapāṭa, whose vulgarised form is Mevāḍa or Mewar. G. H. Ojha ascribes it to the fact that it was occupied by a people called Mevas or Meos. A portion of it is still known as Meval (mod. Mavli Jn). The area is now represented by Udaipur, Banswara, Dungarpur and possibly Idar. The Marwar region of 'Ajmere and Marwar' is still inhabited by Mevals. In its wider sense, it stands for the modern districts of Udaipur, Chitorgarh, Bhilwara, Bundi, Kota, Sawai-Madhopur, Jaipur, Kishangarh, Jodhpur, Marwar, Barmer, Tonk, Shahpur, Idar, Dungarpur, Banswara and portions of Gwalior and Indore like Gangapur *pargana* and Namdawas pargana respectively. In the present paper, the second sense is accepted. The study of 'Pre-history' of Mewar is of absorbing interest. Because so much of its historical side is known, that one is almost overwhelmed in forgetting its earlier antiquity. The cavalcade of historical geology, as we have already noted, is staggering indeed.

It is generally the practice, to think of the past, as being divided into historic and pre-historic periods. The historic period only deals with the period when man learnt to keep written records. The prehistoric period is longer, and has to be interpreted mainly from evidence preserved in the rocks on the earth, from the accumulations on the river banks etc. As we review the phenomena of the transformations, in historical geology, e. g. climatic changes, the rise and fall of sea levels, a damp and humid region transformed into a dessicated Rajasthan, like Libya, Tunisia, Tripolitania and Morocco, disappearance of the Sea of Thar, the Vedic Sarasvatī loosing itself in the sands of Vinaśana, the millions of years through which Chambal must have cut its gorges through granite and gneissic rocks, and possible repercussions of all these on flora and fauna, and last of all man; the immensity of the problem becomes evident. Most fascinating would be the account and identity of those primitive peoples that helped to evolve social and economic life with a definite archtype. These influenced the later immigrants and modified themselves by contemporary conditions. Unfortunately, however, we have no resources to tell the whole story, because, the data so far collected is neither comprehensive nor adequate. No human skeleton of this remote age has yet been discovered in Rajasthan, and the fossils of anthropoid apes found in the Himalayas do not help to resolve the problem. Nonetheless, results achieved by these pioneers, for collecting materials of origin and development of human culture in Rajasthan, is indeed not contemptible. A beginning has been made. Many parts of Mewar has yet to be combed, to narrate this intricate story from the days of "Hunters" and "Fruit gatherers."

The remarkable discoveries of A. Ghosh, in the valleys of Dṛishadvatī and Sarasvatī, have resulted in the tracing of hundreds of sites, containing cycles of cultural history of Rajasthan, in proto-historic times, with the so-called Kot Diji culture found at Kalibangan in Ganganagar district.[1] The same scholar and others have found stone tools in the valleys of Gambhiri etc., thereby laying securely, the foundations of pre-historic studies not only in Mewar, but in Rajasthan and Madhya Pradeśa as well. C. B. H. Macburney has correctly stated: "It may be said of pre-historic as most of scientific disciplines, that accidents of initial discovery continue to exert an appreciable influence on the subject throughout early phases of its development." And, prehistory is the first discipline of archaeology.

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[1] A Ghosh—Rajputana Desert—Its archaeological Aspect. *Bulletins of the National Institute of Sciences.* No. 1. 1952.

The archaeological history of human civilization has two broad divisions, Palaeolithic and Neolithic. Palaeolithic again has three sub-divisions, Lower Palaeolithic, Mesolithic and Upper Palaeolithic. All these are stages of evolution, not necessarily a universal phenomenon, at the same age, time or period, in every part of the world. In the history of human race, the Old Stone Age is the basic foundation, on which the present magnificent edifice has been erected. Throughout these long centuries, 'Man' was a hunter and the hunted. He lived a hard and rigourous life, without any alleviations. It was full of bitter struggles and fights; damaged limbs and torn flesh. Community and family life were unknown. It was his quickness of perception, agility in action that enabled him to survive.

For milleniums, man not only fought the wilderness for material needs but also for securing a better way of life. In course of time, he formed a pack of semi-anthropoid apes. By fire and blade he won mastery over jungle and its laws, evolving dim and misty conceptions of collective but decent living, where his worries for daily needs would be less. In his art, he left his impressions of his world, and faithful if not accurate records of his boastings and vanity. In ornaments he made effectual attempts to satisfy his primitive aesthetics. V. D. Krishnaswamy was of opinion that "the Palaeolithic has a geological antiquity deeply rooted in Pleistocene ; it comprises a far longer period than can be assigned to the two later stages taken together, the era of which has been distinguished as the Holocene (Recent) period."[2]

This however is the picture in Europe. Sir Mortimer Wheeler justly warned us that "In India, it is more than ordinarily difficult, to set man of the Old Stone Age, Palaeolithic Man, squarely on his feet." That he existed and went through various evolutionary processes is evident, from the abundant artifacts found everywhere ; which is true not only of Mewar, but Rajasthan, nay India. He left them in various geological formations whose dating has seldom been attempted, except by de Terra and Zeuner. None of his other associated objects has so far been found. This brings us to the question of terminology. It has now been recognized that Indian data cannot be applied in the framework that was established since Lubbock, for European pre-history.

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[2] *Ancient India*, no. 3 (1947); and no. 9 (1953).

Although, the terms Lower Palaeolithic, Mesolithic and Upper Palaeolithic might have been fortuitously applied in the past ; there are immense difficulties, in defining exactly, these terms, when applied to the Indian scene and in clarifying their co-relation with the European periods. Almost identical cultures and industries known in Europe are often met with in India, Africa or Asia ; or objects at least sufficiently resembling them to enable us to adopt European terminology. We have in our reference books already described them as Chellean, Acheulian and of Clactonian technique, but in doing so we conveniently forgot, that Indian and European chronologies are not identical. Due to affinity of technique, shape and forms, for the sake of brevity in discussion or in clarifying the method of chipping, these terms may be sparingly used, but we must find terms more suitable to resolve the Indian puzzle. The Indian handaxes, for example, similar to European Chellean, are often not merely of pebbles but also made out of large flakes of stones. In India, the associated mammalia and the industries of their bones have yet to be found. The first International Conference of Asian Archaeology held on the 14th December, 1961 decided to approve a list of new terms.

It resolved that the term Palaeolithic is inappropriate in the Indian context, on account of chronological and technicotypological implications in its extra Indian context. "Stone Age" is sufficient. Early, Middle and Late Stone Ages followed by

Neolithic should be provisionally used in India. Therefore tools of Series I are Lower Palaeolithic industries, those of Series II—Upper Palaeolithic and those of Series III—Microlithic artifacts. Parenthetically, however, we might note that in India, and as a corollary, in Mewar, microliths have two broad divisions: (i) Those not associated with pottery; and (ii) those associated with pottery. The sequence of the two have yet to be decided. All these terms however were originally suggested by Sir Mortimer Wheeler.[3] Lastly, we must not forget that there is no evidence of a Mesolithic age in India; and at some places, microliths survived till C. 10th Century A.D., if not still later. So only the context of the knives and spades can establish their authentic date. Stray collections, except for their typology, have little to contribute.

In Mewar, a beginning has been made, by a successful survey of the river-valleys without any intensive excavations of the implementiferous beds and proto-historic sites. The only exceptions are Ahar and Gilund in Udaipur district. While engaged in these preliminary surveys, an honest endeavour has been made to study the deposits of river banks without any attempt at dating of the past. It is likely that the results of their observation will be published sooner or later. Our aim should be not to allow these pioneer collections to become fossilized, not even to know early Man in Mewar; but, to establish his physical, pathological and cultural associations, by data not yet discovered, to continue to dig for those elusive material; and like a criminologist, to follow up these clues, to establish the identity of the run-aways.

The river valleys so far surveyed are: Banas in Bhilwara and Tonk districts, Berach in Bhilwara and Udaipur district, Gambhiri in Chitorgarh district, Ahar in Udaipur district, Reria, Luni and Jojri in Jodhpur district. The valleys of Banas and Berach, in Bhilwara district yielded tools of Series I and III;

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[3] *Early India and Pakistan*, p. 34, London. 1959.

Berach and Gambhiri in Chitorgarh district yielded tools of Series I and III, the same was the case in Udaipur district, while valleys of Reria, Luni and Jojri have contributed tools of Series I, II and III. It is now necessary to know something of the rivers whose valleys have been surveyed. The greatest of these is Chambal. Luni rises in the Pushkar valley and after a course of 200 miles falls in the Rann of Cutch. Banas is a tributary of the Chambal, rises near Kumbhalgarh, passes below the south-eastern slopes of Aravallis and through Mewar for a length of 300 miles. Berach is another tributary of Banas, rising in the hills north of Udaipur city flows into Udaisagar, where it is known as Ahar. After leaving Udaisagar, it flows past Chitorgarh, and joins the Banas. Gambhiri is the river below Chitor Fort.

The credit of first collecting the old stone age tools in Rajasthan and Mewar goes to C. A. Hackett, an officer of the Geological Survey, who brought to our notice tools of Series I in 1870, collected from Jaipur, Bundi and Indargarh.[4] Unfortunately, however, no details are available. All these are flake tools and consist of scrapers, handaxes and ovates under the old term 'Boucher' from Boucherde Parthos. After him, for a long time, there were no researches, worth the name, when from 1946, due to integration, they received an impetus. The aim of this paper is not merely to tell the intricate story of prehistoric Mewar in a succinct form but also to appraise the value of the data so far availble. Because, a coherent, co-ordinated and adequate account of Mewar in the Old Stone Age is not yet possible. A mass of evidence, briefly noticed, is yet unpublished. I visited many of the sites in winter of 1962. The idea occurred due to a discussion I had with Prof. S.K. Agrawalla, Ph.D., Head of the Department of Geology, University of Rajasthan, while travelling in train to Udaipur.

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[4] J. C. Brown, *Catalogue of the Pre-Historic Antiquities in the Indian Museum*, Simla. 1917. pp. 66-67, plate V.

Materials

In the year 1953-54, the explorations of the following river valleys yielded tools of series I consisting of handaxes, choppers, cleavers and 'Cleavers flakes'. These were found in the bed of river Gambhira, which meanders its course at the foot of Chitorgarh and its neighbour Berach; the beds of the two canals near Singoli, the pebble conglomerate bed of the Chambal and the slopes near the village of Sonita.[5]

Next year, 1954-55, S.R. Rao found 6 sites containing tools of Series I, excluding those found in the beds of Gambhira, Berach and Chambal at places like Chitorgarh, Nagari and Sonita; the beds of Bamani and Ruparel and *nālās* Dodha and Parsoli. Bichore on the last named *nālā* supplied handaxes and cleavers. Haripura on Bamani yielded few from its bed of conglomerate. Rathamjna and Sigoh, near Nimabhera, also contributed tools of Series I. Tajpura on the Ruparel was rich in tools of Series II. They were found in the gravel below and above the conglomerate. The site at Dhangadman, situated on the Piplā-kā-nālā, yielded few pebble tools, pear-shaped handaxes, showing controlled flaking comparable with Abbevilleo-Levalloisian and Acheulian industries[6].

In the working season of 1956-57, two other old stone age sites were traced near Chitorgarh, situated at a distance of 2 miles from each other in a *nālā* joining the river Berach. The industry consisted of handaxes, cleavers, choppers and scrapers. A double pointed handaxe was also found. A *nālā* joining Berach near Nagari, a place 8 miles from Chitorgarh city, supplied an ovate, cleavers and serapers[7].

Two stone age sites were discovered between Chitorgarh and Menal in 1957-58. A *nālā* near Bichore yielded tools of Series

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[5] *Indian Archaeology*—A Review 1953-54, p. 37.

[6] *Ibid.*, 1954-55, pp. 58 ff.

[7] *Ibid*, 1956-57, 62 ff. Sri K. V. Soundararajan found a stone age site near Bhangarh, in Alwar district. The tools were of Madrasian industry. *Ibid*, 1956-57, p. 5.

I. The industry has been described as Acheulian in character. The term Acheulian is derived from a site at St. Acheul, near Amiens in France, where they occur in abundance. They betray a more elaborate technique of flaking, while in form they are round or triangular with a continuous sharp edge produced by delicate flaking. The wastes that accumulated in the production of these tools and weapons are often of great sizes and had such sharp edges that their utility for cutting purposes must have been obvious to the tool makers[8]. Two scrapers or core tools, a fine specimen of handaxe of Acheulian technique, ovates and cleavers were found near a village called Samaria No. 1[9].

In the year 1958-59, Sri V.N. Misra of the Deccan College Post Graduate Research Institute, during his exploratory activities found 5 sites in Bhilwara district and 4 sites in Tonk district which yielded tools of Series I. These are Hamirgarh, Sarupganj, Mandpia, Bigod and Jahazpur in Bhilwara district, Deoli, Banthali, Mahua and Tonk, in Tonk district. Tonk, it would be recalled was formed by Amir Khan with the help of Indore and the E.I. Company, with areas obtained from Rajput states, by violence and extortion. Bhilai-ka-jhompḍian, a gully near Chitor Fort, yielded many tools of Series I.[10]

In 1960-61, Dr. H. D. Sankalia and late B. Subba Rao inspected the sites along with Sri Misra. When at Chitorgarh, they found two loose artefacts of series II.

Typology

A mass of evidence require to be garnered before a detailed study on typology can be attempted. It would be however worth while to distinguish the main types. These are: handaxes, cleavers, choppers, scrapers and ovates belonging to two distinct classes of industries. I. Pebble tools. These are the first tools made by man. They were made by breaking

[8] *Op. cit.*, 1957-58, p. 45 ff.

[9] *Ibid.*

[10] *Ibid*, p. 42 ff. fig. 18.

stones till they received a sharp ridge, then by chipping both sides to arrive at a jagged edge. This type of industry, having been found for the first time in India, in the valley of the Panjab, has been named 'Sohon Industry' anglicized into 'Soan'. They have been found at few sites in Southern Rajasthan such as Dhangadman situated on Pıplā-kā-nālā. The growing skill of primitive man led to the emergence of handaxes, from crude pebbles and flakes. Later secondary flaking was resorted to.

The second variety of choppers made from thick flakes are called Clactonian in technique, derived from the place of the same name in Essex, where they were first found. In this class flaking takes place from a previously unprepared block by means of stone or wooden mallet or bones or by striking on another block. Along with the choppers of Sohon type are found tools shaped on the core itself and not from a flake. They generally consist of handaxes, pear shaped oval implements resembling French Abevellian or Chelean or Acheulian technique. With this series are found cleavers, oblong or rhombhoid in outline—generally termed 'Madras industry,' from the region in which they were originally found by Bruce Foote. The so-called Clactorian type of choppers have also been found in Burma, Java, Malaya and China.

Conclusion

The foregoing analysis clearly establishes certain hypotheses, which future intensive research can only prove or disprove. First of these is, that tools of Series II (Upper Palaeolithic) have not been found in Southern Rajasthan, except at Sonita and Bhainsrorgarh, but in the north, in Jodhpur, Barmer and Marwar districts. It would be unwise to dogmatise at this stage, but it is a point which should be borne in mind. Secondly, S. R. Rao has correctly observed, that Southern Rajasthan seems to have been the pivotal region, where Sohan pebble industry from the north and Madras handaxe industry from the peninsular region met. In the proto-historic age, we meet with the same problem in respect of Black and Red pottery. Since both these series could not have sprung up simultaneously, even providing for an overlap, spade has had to establish their sequence.[11] Parenthetically, it might be observed that such a conclusion is quite consistent with the known records of the Aravalli range. Aravalli hills, it would be recalled is at present a wreck of what must have been a lofty chain of mountains, reduced to its present dimensions, by human habit of wasting, aerial denudation and subsidence. It is earlier than lower Palaeozoic. According to some, it was part of a vast mountain chain which lies buried under the waters of the Arabian Sea extending from Madagascar.

The Aravallis divide Rajasthan almost from end to end, by a line running from north east to south west. It stretches from Bhawalpur in West Pakistan on the west and runs northward upto Delhi (the famous ridge on portions of which Karolbag, West and East Patelnagars, Rajendranagar and Pusa colonies have been built). The great Indian desert, formerly a sea, extends from the Runn of Cutch northwards and between it and the 'Little Desert' on the east, there is a less sterile region. The second main division lies to the southeast of the Aravallis, containing higher and more fertile regions. Starting from Abu and sweeping along the borders of Gujarat and Malwa, it reaches Gwalior. Then it runs northward, eventually along the Chambal, till it enters Uttara Pradeśa, whence it turns towards Delhi.

The area is covered by extensive hill ranges, rocky wold and woodland; large rivers, wide valleys, table lands, like the Pathar and Upartnal, along with wide stretches of alluvial deposits. Behind the loftiest portions of Aravalli lies Mewar, the land falling gradually as it recedes from long ridges, which mark the water parting, through a country full of high hills and deep gullies; finally, settling down in Udaipur valley. Towards the south-west corner are the hill tracts of Mewar, with Badoli, Bhainsrorgarh, Menal and Bijholya, the granite valley of Hāḍavatī (vulgo. Haraoti), where you can dig to secure a stone slab by no digging or by digging only few inches from the surface. It is a tangled skein of hills, valleys, ravines and jungle.

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[11] S. R. Rao has established the sequence between Sohon and Madrasian industries at Sonita and Bhainsorgarh. *Ind. Arch.* 1956-57, p. 5 ff., and plates.

But this massif has had its weak points. It had its *nals* or *dārrās* (passes or ghāṭs), through which all the invaders of historical period reached Rajasthan.[12] When at the end of the 12th century A. D., India found itself divided into small shattered princely states, it was this inhospitable area sheltered by the Aravalli and desert that offered refuge to several bands of gallant people to carry on the ceaseless war of resistance. They reared up new hearth and homes, over the rubble and shambles of their classical heritage. In this war, no state in Rajasthan took such a leading role as Mewar, under its illustrious *mahārānās*, notwithstanding repeated sack, loot and plunder. This division has a value, we find that tools of Series I are found in the southern Rajasthan while Series II are found in Marwar and Jodhpur districts. Aravalli evidently constitute the eastern boundary of this zone, just as it did in the proto-historic period.

ADRIS BANERJI

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[12] G. H. Ojha, *Udaipur Rājya Kā Itihasa*, (in Hindi) vol. i, p. 3f. Besides the passes mentioned in this work, there were others, e.g. Mukundarra in Bundi district.

The Home-Land of Viṣṇusarma

Students of oriental learning are aware of the fact that the *Pañcatantra*, a very important work on beast-fables, attained wide celebrity in many parts of the civilised world as early as the middle of the sixth century A. D.[1] J. Hertel[2] gives a list of over 200 different versions of this book which was known to the entire region extending from Java to Iceland. But nothing definite is known to the scholars regarding the exact homeland of the author of the *Pañcatantra*. Hertel[3] thinks that the work was composed in Kashmir. He assumes it because, in his opinion, there is no reference to elephant or lion in the entire work, whereas 'Uṣṭra' or camel is known to its author. But the validity of such an assumption has been questioned by scholars. S.K. Dasgupta and S. K. De[4] have not pointed out the place of the composition of the *Pañcatantra* but have referred to the inadequacy of Hertel's arguments. Dr. A. B. Keith[5] rightly gives weight to the south Indian origin of the *Pañcatantra*. He says, "Hertel's view that the work was composed in Kashmir because neither the tiger nor the elephant plays a part in the original, while the camel is known, is inconclusive." Haṁsarāj Agrawāl[6] writes in his *History of Sanskrit Literature*: —

आद्य-पंचतन्त्रजन्मभूविषये न तावत् किमपि तात्त्विकं विदितम्। मौलिक-संदर्भे हस्तिसिंहयोः नामधेयस्य अनुपलम्भाद् उष्ट्रस्य च आभीक्ष्ण्येन वर्णनात् कश्मीरदेशः खलु आद्यस्य पंचतन्त्रस्य जन्मभूः इति यद् हर्टलमहाशयेन तर्कितं न तत् वस्तुतः तर्कसहम्।

Thus in many standard works of the *History of Sanskrit Literature*, scholars have referred to the arguments of Hertel as inadequate and inconclusive, though they themselves have not come to any conclusion. The *Pañcatantra* deals with stories and hence indeed it is difficult to bring out facets of truth from fiction. However, I proceed to make a dissertation on the home-land of Viṣṇuśarmā on the basis of topography, nomenclature and other internal evidences, along with some sources found in the inscriptions of the fourth and fifth centuries A.D.

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[1] The Pahlavi version of the *Pañcatantra* was made before 570 A. D.

[2] *Das Pañcatantra*, p. 451f.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *History of Sanskrit Literature*, vol. I p. 88.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 248.

[6] संस्कृतसाहित्येतिहासः हंसराज अग्रवालः—द्वितीय भाग पृः ४५.

Topography:—In the *Pañcatantra*, there are references to places like Puṣkara, Gaṅgādvāra, Prayāga, Vārāṇasī and Gauḍa. But the Deccan is conspicuously pointed out in the prologue of the work. The book begins with the statement "अस्ति दक्षिणापथे महिलारोप्यं नाम नगरम्" ।[7] In the 'Kathāmukham', the author narrates the circumstances which led him to discuss the doctrines of ethics in the form of the *Pañcatantra* at the city of Mahilāropya in south India. This, no doubt, refers to the south Indian origin of the book.

It may be recalled here that Hertel, while making Kashmir the place of composition of the *Pañcatantra*, says that elephant does not play a part in the stories. But in the '*Pañcatantra*', (published by Chowkhambā Vidyā Bhavan) edited by late Gokuldas Gupta, we find descriptions of "Cāturdanta Gaja" and "Matta Gajendra". In this context, we quote below a relevant passage from the *Pañcatantra*:—

> कस्मिंश्चित् **समुद्रतीरैकदेशे** टिट्टिभदंपती प्रतिवसतः स्म । ततो गच्छति काले ऋतुसमयमासाद्य टिट्टिभी गर्भमाधत्त । अथ आसन्नप्रसवा सती सा टिट्टिभमूचे-'भोः कान्त ! मम प्रसवसमयो वर्त्तते । तत्र विचिन्त्यतां किमपि निरुपद्रवस्थानं येन तत्राहं मण्डकविमोक्षणं करोमि ।' टिट्टिभः प्राह—'भद्रे ! **रम्योऽयं समुद्रप्रदेशः** । तदत्रैव प्रसवः कार्यः ।' साह—अत्र पूर्णिमादिने समुद्रवेला चरति । सा **मत्तगजेन्द्रान्** अपि समाकर्षति ।"[9]

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[7] See *Pañcatantra* (published in 1959 by Chowkhambā Vidyābhavan), p. 2, and (Pañcama tantra), p. 67.

[8] *Ibid*., p. 24.

[9] *Ibid*, (Prathama Tantra), p. 148.

The description of the region quoted above indicates two features—firstly, it is a country on the sea-side and secondly it has produced the best class of mighty elephants. These topographical features correspond to the region of ancient Kaliṅga, because it was the only country on the seaside, which attained celebrity for the best class of elephants.

Kauṭilya[10] and Hiuen-tsiang[11] have pointed out in their accounts that the best class of elephants was available in Kaliṅga.

Viṣṇuśarmā, while narrating the story, does not fail to appreciate the charms of Kaliṅga and reveals himself through the bird which says, "भद्रे ! रम्योऽयंसमुद्रप्रदेशः ।" In fact, great poets before and after Viṣṇuśarmā have appreciated the sea-shore of Kaliṅga in a charming way. Thus Kālidāsa[12] writes:—

असौ महेन्द्राद्रिसमानसारः पतिर्महेन्द्रस्य महोदधेश्च ।
यस्य क्षरत्सैन्यगजच्छलेन यात्रासु यातीव पुरो महेन्द्रः ॥
यमात्मनः सद्मनि संनिकृष्टो मन्द्रध्वनित्याजितयामतुर्यः ।
प्रासादवातायनदृश्यवीचिः प्रवोधयत्यर्णव एव सुप्तम् ॥

Daṇḍin[13] also writes in his *Daśakumāra-carita*:—"The king of Kaliṅga with his harem and townsmen had retired to the *forest on the sea-side* and that while he was fully engrossed with the *enjoyment of vernal pleasure*, he was carried away by the Āndhra king Jayasiṁha." Again in the records of the Gaṅga kings,[14] the capital of Kaliṅga is described to have been embraced by the arms of the bellows of the sea. (जलधिजलतरंगकरपल्लवालिंगित).

Thus from the illustrations cited above, we come to the conclusion that the topography of 'Ṭiṭṭibha Dampatī Kathā' refers to Kaliṅga. But the question arises: Was it because Viṣṇuśarmā was a native of Kaliṅga, that he could not fail to describe its charming beauty in course of the depiction of a story? Of course, it is not safe to give a final answer to this question until our assumption is supported by some more reliable evidences.

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[10] *Arthaśāstra* (fifth edition), translated by Dr. R. Shamasastri, p. 49.

[11] Si-yu-ki, translated by S. Beal (Susilgupta publication), vol. IV, p. 413.

[12] *Raghu-vaṃśa*, canto VI, verses 53, 54 and 57.

[13] *Calcutta Review* (March, 1931), p. 419.

[14] *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. III; *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XII, p. 143.

Hence we give below some authentic data which give us the clue, to some extent, to connect Viṣṇuśarmā with Kaliṅga.

Nomenclature: The Prologue of the *Pañcatantra* says:

"अस्ति दाक्षिणात्ये जनपदे महिलारोप्यं नाम नगरम्। तत्र सकलार्थिकल्पद्रुमः प्रवरमुकुटमणिमरीचिमंजरीचर्चितचरणयुगलः सकलकलापारंगतो**ऽमरशक्ति**र्नाम राजा बभूव। तस्य त्रयः पुत्राः परमदुर्मेधसो बहुशक्तिरुग्रशक्ति-**रनन्तशक्ति**श्चेतिनामानो बभुवुः।"[15]

From this passage we know that in the Deccan in the city of Mahilāropya there was a king called Amaraśakti who had three sons viz., Bahuśakti, Ugraśakti and Anantaśakti. He invited a scholar called Viṣṇuśarmā who trained the three princes in the science of polity.

For a critical and comparative study of the names of the passage, quoted above, we give below a few lines from an inscription palaeographically assigned to the fifth century A.D.[16]

"...**वप्पभट्टारकपादप्रसादावाप्त**शरीरराज्यविभवप्रतापो माठरकुलालंकरिष्णुः **कलिंगाधिपति**श्रीमन्‌महाराज **अनन्तशक्तिवर्म** आन्दोरेप्पग्रामे सर्वसमन्वागतान् कुटुम्बिनः समाज्ञापयति। अस्ति अवनिप यथोक्तधर्मावस्थानविजितत्रिविष्टपै**रार्य्यके शक्तिभट्टारकपादैः**..."[17]

From this inscription, we know that Anantaśakti Varmā was the 'Lord of Kaliṅga' in the fifth century A.D., and *acquired the body as well as the kingdom through the mercy of his glorious father 'Śakti'*. He was the ornament of the Māṭhara family. He commanded all the inhabitants who assembled at the village of Āndoreppa.

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[15] *Pañcanattra*, ed. by Gokuldas Gupta, p. 2.

[16] *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XXVIII pp. 175-79.

[17] *Ibid.*, vol, XXX, p. 37. See also *Inscriptions of Orissa*, vol. I, part II, pp. 13-16.

Again, from a study of the early history of Kaliṅga, we understand that soon after the south Indian campaign of Samudragupta (c. 350 A. D.), the Māṭhara dynasty ruled over Kaliṅga till the first half of the sixth century A.D.

So we are inclined to think that Anantaśakti, son of Śakti of the inscription, is the same as the Anantaśakti, son of Amaraśakti of the *Pañcatantra*. Firstly, we find that the *Pañcatantra*, which attained celebrity by the year 570 A. D., must have been written by Viṣṇuśarmā for Anantaśakti and his brothers, at least by the middle of the fifth century. The present inscription of Anantaśakti Varman also belongs to the same period. Thus from the point of time, they are almost contemporary.

Secondly, the inscription was discovered in the village of Āndhavaram in the Narasannapeta taluk of Śrikākulam district in the Deccan. The *Pañcatantra* also bears in it the stamp of south Indian origin, as already discussed.

Thirdly, from the *Pañcatantra*, we learn that Anantaśakti and his brothers, who in their early career had no wisdom, were deeply benefited by Viṣṇuśarmā, appointed by their father Amaraśakti. And from the inscription we find that Anantaśakti Varman acquired the kingdom through the mercy of his glorious father, Śakti.

Thus a study of the prologue of the *Pañcatantra* and the Āndhavaram plates of Anantśakti Varmā leads us to think that Viṣṇuśarmā was honoured by the Māṭharas of Kaliṅga.

It may be pointed out that Viṣṇuśarmā uses the names of some Brāhmins. They are also found in the copper plate grants of the Kaliṅgan monarchs of the fifth century A.D. In one story he refers to a Brahmin called *Haridatta*—a name which is also found in the Bṛihatproṣṭha grant of Umāvarman (vide *Pañcatantra*, ed. by Gokul Das Gupta, p. 49; and E. I., vol. XII, pp. 4-6). In another story, Viṣṇuśarmā refers to another Brahmin called *Devaśarmā*—a name which is also found in the Komarti plate of Caṇḍavarman (vide *Pañcatantra*, p. 62; and E. I., vol. IV, pp. 142-45). So we may say in this context that, as Viṣṇuśarmā was patronised by the Māṭhara kings of Kaliṅga, he was acquainted with such names of the Brahmins, as are found in the Māṭhara records.

At the conclusion, we like to point out that the name 'Viṣṇuśarmā' is found as a donee in more than one inscription belonging to the fifth century A.D. No doubt, there might be many Brahmins by the name of Viṣṇuśarmā, but it is well-known to all the students of epigraphy that usually learned Brahmins were considered as worthy donees. One Viṣṇuśarmā of Ātreya *gotra* was a donee in the Khoroshoṇḍā plates[18] of Viśākhavarmā. In the Baranga plates[19] of Umāvarmā, discovered by the present writer, 'Brāhmaṇa Viṣṇuśarmā' of Kāśyapa *gotra* was the donee of the village called Hemanḍaka Agrahāra. At present it would be far-fetched to imagine that Viṣṇuśarmā of Khoroshoṇḍā or Baranga plates is the same as the author of the *Pañcatantra.*

But in this connection, our attention is at once drawn towards the Tanḍivāḍa grant[20] of Pṛithvī Mahārāja. The date of this charter is controversial. But palaeographically it may be assigned to the latter half of the 6th century or the early part of the 7th century A. D. In this record, one Viṣṇuśarmā, who was the grandfather of the donee, is represented as—

"श्रुतिस्मृतिपारदं च यथावत् अनुष्ठित-अग्निष्टो-मादिक्रियापूतात्मनो विष्णुशर्मणः ।"[21]

i.e. one whose mind has been purified by the due performance of Agniṣṭoma and other sacrifices and who has mastered the Śruti and Smṛti. Viṣṇuśarmā of the Tanḍivāḍa plate, we think, may reasonably be identified with the author of the *Pañcatantra.* Viṣṇuśarmā himself records in his work that he was at the age of eighty[22] when he wrote his book and that he had attained wide celebrity among all students as an expert in Śāstras[23] "(सकलशास्त्रपारंगमश्च्छात्रसंसदि लब्धकीर्त्तिः) ।

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[18] *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XXI, pp. 23-25.

[19] *Orissa Historical Research Journal*, vol. VI, p. 105.

[20] *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XXIII, pp. 88-89.

[21] See lines 10-11 of the grant; vide *Inscriptions of Orissa*, vol. I, part II, p. 49.

[22] ममाशीतिवर्षस्य व्यावृत्तसर्वेन्द्रियार्थस्य न किंचित् अर्थेन प्रयोजनम् । (See the prologue of *Pañcatantra*)

So it does not appear to be wide of the mark to identify Viṣṇuśarmā of the Taṇḍivāḍa grant with Viṣṇuśarmā, the author of the *Pañcatantra.*

A brief survey of the political history of Kaliṅga in the Gupta period gives us a clue about the Māṭharas who patronised Viṣṇuśarmā. Closely following the Dakṣiṇāpatha campaign of Samudra-gupta, some kings of the Māṭhara and Vāśiṣṭha lineage ruled over Kaliṅga.

In the initial stage, their territory was confined to the modern Ganjam district of Orissa and Śrikākulam district of Āndhra. The famous Mahendragiri of Puranic fame was the hill-fort of those rulers. But under the Māṭhara kings like Ananta Śakti Varman, Śakti Varman and Ananta Varman, Siṃhapura[24] and Piṣṭapura[25] were the capitals of Kaliṅga. Under the Māṭhara kings, Kaliṅga, during the Gupta period, became a centre of Brahmanism and Vedic culture. They granted lands to the learned Brāhmaṇas of different *gotras* like Kāśyapa, Ātreya, Vatsa, Bhāradvāja and Devarāta. They also invited Viṣṇuśarmā, that erudite scholar, who was an expert in Śruti and Smṛti and a past master in all Śāstras. He was eighty, when he was thus approached by Amara Śakti who, in our opinion, is the same as Śakti Bhaṭṭāraka, father of Ananta Śaktivarman of the Āndhavaram plates.

But these great Māṭhara kings who ruled from Kṛṣṇāveṇī in the south to the Mahānadī in the North,[26] seem to have been ousted by Pṛthvī Mahārāja of Sri Rāma Kāśyapa *gotra* who issued his Taṇḍivāḍa grant from Piṣṭapura which was a stronghold of the Māṭharas of Kaliṅga. Even when political strength of the Māṭharas declined, their cultural tradition of patronising the learned Brahmins was continued by Pṛithvī Mahārāja, who was a "Parama Brahmaṇya". Thus we find in his Taṇḍivāḍa grant[27] that he granted the village of Taṇḍivāḍa to *Bhava-Śarman* who had studied 3000 sciences and written 20 commentaries. This great scholar was the son of *Pṛthvīśar man* whose habit was to study, teach and comment on 3000 vidyās. And Pṛthvīśārmā was the son of Viṣṇuśarmā whose mînd had been purified by the due performance of Agniṣṭoma and other sacrifices and who had mastered the Śruti and Smṛti.

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[23] *Pañcatantra*, ed. by Gokuldas Gupta, p. 5.

[24] See Ragolu plate of Śaktivarman (E. I. XII); Sṛṅgavara Pukota plates of Anantavarman (E. I. XXIII).

[25] Śakunaka grant of Anantaśaktivarman (E. I. XXVIII).

[26] Vide the Ningoṇḍi plates of Prabhanjana Varman.

From the aforesaid account we come to the following conclusions: —

1. Viṣṇuśarmā, the author of the *Pañcatantra*, has indirectly referred to Kaliṅga as a country on the sea-side, which produces the best class of elephants.
2. Kaliṅga was very probably the homeland of Viṣṇuśarmā because Ananta Śakti (son of Amara Śakti) of the Kathāmukham of the *Pañcatantra* appears to be no other than Ananta Śakti Varman of the Māṭhara family of Kaliṅga.
3. Viṣṇuśarmā, the author of the *Pañcatantra* is, in all probability, the same as Viṣṇuśarmā, the grandfather of the donee of the Taṇḍivāḍa grant which was issued from Piṣṭapura of ancient Kaliṅga.

Sarat Chandra Behera

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[27] See lines 10-19 of the charter (*Inscriptions of Orissa*, vol. I, S. N. Rajaguru)

Geomorphological Knowledge of Ancient Indians*

The Earliest Age

The "Vedic Mythology" by A. A. Macdonell outlines the physiography poetically described in the *Ṛgveda* in the following lines: —

"According to the *Ṛgveda* she (the earth) abounds in heights, bears the burden of the mountains, and supports the trees of the forest in the ground (क्षमा). She quickens, for she scatters rain, and the showers of heaven are shed from the lightning of her clouds. She is great (मही), firm (दृढ़) and shining (अर्जुनी)."[1]

Besides a large number of rivers, lakes and waterfalls,[2] deserts,[8] snow-clad mountains,[4] mountainous fringes or table lands[5] and shelving banks of the Gangā[6] are other topographic features mentioned in the *Ṛgveda*. Vigorous erosion by the river Sarasvatī is alluded to in VI. 61. 2. The whole hymn VI. 61 gives the description of river banks. Further the "River Hymns"[7] of the *Ṛgveda* funish poetic-cum-geographic account of a number of rivers.

Perhaps the *Ṛgvedic* Āryans had the concept of knowing slopes also of a region by the help of rivers as is indicated in IX. 88. 6.

By the time of the *Sāmaveda*, *Yajurveda* and *Atharvaveda*, the Indians had come to acquire sufficient knowledge of physiography and geomorphology. This is established by the following geographical technical terms—उपह्वर (mountain slopes),[8] इरिण (cleft or ऊषर), शिला (stony place), क्षयण (habitable place), काट (forest having a difficult communication), हृद (lake), लोप (rugged lands or bad lands),[9] नीप (skirt of mountains), सूर्व (good soil), किंशिल (pebbly ground),[10] and अनूप (marshes)[11]. Like the *Ṛgveda*, *Śuklayajurveda*[12] and *Atharvaveda*[13] also call a desert as धन्व or धनु. In the *Taittirīyasaṃhitā*[14] slope or a sloping place has been named as प्रवण. In the *Sāmaveda* we come across a brief but fine description of a river mouth—"......and as a wave of the sea opposite to the mouth of a river sends into it a portion of its water."[15] The Pṛthvī sūkta (XII) of the *Atharvaveda* furnishes a concise account of physiography—mountains, snow-capped mountain summits, forest lands, rocky places, high lands (उद्वत), plain areas (सम) and perennial streamy or slopes (प्रवत). This Sūkta refers to various types of rocks and different soils of brown, black, red and other colours.

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* This forms chapter IV of the present author's thesis "Development of Geographic knowledge in India." (Ancient Period).

[1] p. 88.

[2] VIII. 7.10

[3] V. 83.10; VI. 62.2. etc.

[4] X-121. 4-5.

[5] Wilson's version. VIII. 85.2.

[6] VI. 45.31.

[7] X. 75

[8] *Sāmaveda Prapāthaka*, II. 5-9. Text.

In the *Gopathabrāhmaṇa*, the nomenclature for a meandering river is विपाट्.[16] It was also acquainted with two types of springs or falls, namely hot and cold.[17]

The Rāmāyaṇa

The celebrated epic reveals very rich and accurate knowledge of various types of geomorphological patterns—mountains and plateau topography, plains, swamps and deserts.[18]

Some of the geomorphological patterns in the *Rāmāyaṇa* are quoted below—

"And romantic forests and woods, watery expanses of mighty volume, and mountain with flat places."[19]

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[9] *Taittirīyasaṃhitā*, IV. 5.9.1 (Keith).

[10] *White Yajurveda*, XVI. 37-45.

[11] *Atharvaveda*, I. 6.4.

[12] XXXIV. 24; p. 282 (Griffith).

[13] I. 6.4.

[14] VI. 2.6.4.

[15] XIV. 4. p. 163. Stevenson.

[16] II. 8.

[17] "......शीतोष्णाविहोत्सौ..........." II. 8 (उत्स = a spring or falls).

[18] VI. 22, 33 and 37.

[19] II. 48. 10 (MND p. 323)

"Rivers and rills and plateaus, caverns, and fountains."[20] "That plain tract."[21] "Sandy banks of rivers."[22]

"Those lands watered by the Gaṅgā are dense and hard to track."[23]

"That spot widening into a level plain measuring five yojanas was covered with thick grass......on it stood...citrons and myrobalan."[24]

निर्दर—disintegrated or cracked rock,[25] शैलप्रस्थ—plateau,[26] उद्भेद—fountains; निष्यन्द—rillets, जलप्रपात—cascade or falls,[27] descent of a river,[28] bridge of sand, mountain hollows, caves, cavities and rills,[30] and swamps or marsh.[31]

How after melting of snow, a mountainous topography becomes charming is spoken of thus—हिमात्यये नगमिव चारुकन्दरम्.[32]

Existence of mountains in oceans is mentioned in III. 33. 6 and VI. 50. 32. Further references to ocean deeps and submarine mountains are also found in IV. 41. 20 and IV. 420. 30. The *Rāmāyaṇa* has made very subtle observation of oceanic lake (like Cilkā of Orissa).[33]

The author of the epic has also marked "river erosion on non-resistent or soft steep river bank."[34]

In VII. 23. 42 we read about the erosive action of the downpour of rain on mountains.

Thus through a close study of the cantoes, it can be easily seen that the following words of the celebrated geologist Edward Suess about the perfection of the physiographical knowledge of the ancient Hindus apply to none so aptly as to the outstanding literary masterpiece. "The Hindus have devoted a terminology much more perfect than our own to denote the superficial fixtures of the ground and it is a question whether many of their designations might not with advantage be more generally employed."[35]

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[20] II. 54.42. [21] II. 56. 11. [22] II. 55. 31.

[23] II. 85. 4 (MND, p. 419).

[24] II. 91. 29-30. [25] II. 92. 10. [26] II. 94. 11.

[27] II. 94. 13. [28] II. 103. 25. [29] III. 69. 50.

[30] IV. 13. 6—कन्दराणि च शैलाश्च निर्दराणिगुहास्तथा ।
शिखराणि च मुख्यानि दरीश्च प्रियदर्शता ॥

[31] III. 33. 5. [32] V. 7. 15.

[33] II. 14. 66. (The Kāmyakasara of old).

[34] II. 63. 46; V. 34. 19; VII. 14. 18.

The poet of the *Rāmāyaṇa* has once referred to uṣara (barren) soil also.[36] II 100-68 again mentions uṣara or barren soil in the Pañcavargas.

The *magnum opus* speaks of various types of rocks of different colours—green,[37] coral,[38] blue, red, white, and black ones together with others of different colours.[39]

Two chapters (Bhūmi Parva—11 and 12) of the Bhīṣma Parva of the *Mahābhārata* contain considerable information on physiography. The *Mahābhārata* mentions large tracts of deserts several times.[40] In a certain context the word नदीकच्छ is used. Most probably it indicates the land from which now-a-days the appellation Delta is used.

The *Mahābhārata* divides the Himalayan mountain into three regions—the outer Himalayas, the lesser Himalayas and the interior Himalayas.[41] It appears that those people had geomorphologically or physiographically studied or at least carefully observed the great mountain and on that basis distinguished its three parts.

The great epic describes the soil of a forest area in these words: "Its soil was uneven and covered with blocks of stones, loosened from the hills."[42] It unmistakably evinces that the author had carefully observed and was acquainted with the geomorphological process of solifluction or soil creep.

Manu as the Specialist of Dakārgala

Very little is known about the actual life of Manu, the great writer. Again it is not known with certitude how many such Manus have flourished in ancient India. We are generally acquainted with Manu who wrote *Manusmṛti* or *Mānava-dharmaśāstra.* But there appears to have been another Manu who was a great scientist. Two scientific works are ascribed to Manu—*Mānavaśulvasūtra* and Dakārgala (the science of underground water and water-table). The treatise on Dakārgala (or Dagārgala) by Manu is referred to in the *Vṛhatsaṃbitā.*[43] It is irrelevant in the present context to attempt at any detailed discussion whether the authors of *Mānavaśulvasūtra* and the Dakārgala were the same scientist. But there seems every likelihood that the writer of the Dakārgala, referred to by Varāhamihira, flourished near about 400 B. C. or 200 B. C. by the latest. And as Varāhamihira and his commentator Bhaṭṭotpala (966 A. D.) allude to him in the expression "वृत्तैरपि मानवं नद्ये"[44] and "मनुना विरचितं दकार्गलम्"[45] respectively, it points to the fact that the celebrated scientist must have written a full-fledged dissertation or दकार्गल or science of underground water and water-table.

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[35] "The face of the earth", vol I, p. 48

[36] VII. 86. 14. (Ṭikā by Tilaka and MND canto 99).

[37] III. 35. 18.

[38] III. 35. 24.

[39] V. 1. 5.

[40] I. 70. 2.

[41] II. 27. 3.

[42] I. 69. 17.

Varāhamihira has relevantly drawn upon Manu's Dakārgala. Even the expressions of his verses 100, 101, and 102 of the chapter 53 are borrowed from the lines of Manu, as is revealed by the latter's five verses quoted by Bhaṭṭotpala in the commentary of the aforesaid three stanzas of *Vṛhatsaṃbitā.* Thus it is established that the particular branch of geology under consideration was scrupulously studied and cultivated in India several centuries before Christ and that it was developed by the indigeuous people altogether independently or without the least foreign influence.

Varāhamihira has utilised to a greater extent another treatise on the science of underground water and water table, written by Sārasvata. Rather the former appears to give a preference to the latter over the Mānavadakārgala. So far absolutely nothing is known about Sārasvata and his work, though Varāhamihira has mentioned him and Bhaṭṭotpala has quoted from his treatise profusely. From this at least one thing is certain that Sārasvata's work existed in the time of Bhaṭṭotpala, which the latter used frequently. Sudhākara Dwivedi, the renowned editor of the *Vṛhatsaṃhitā* (vols. I and II) puts a question in the beginning of vol. II as to who Sārasvata was. But his querry remains unanswered. Researches on Sārasvata should be taken up in right earnest and *de novo* searches made for his work in various MS libraries inside and outside India. Similarly, the full text of Mānava Dakārgala is another desideratum.

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[43] Vol II, p. 734.

[44] *Vṛhatsaṃbitā*, 53. 99 (volume II).

[45] Commentary of the above verse, p. 732.

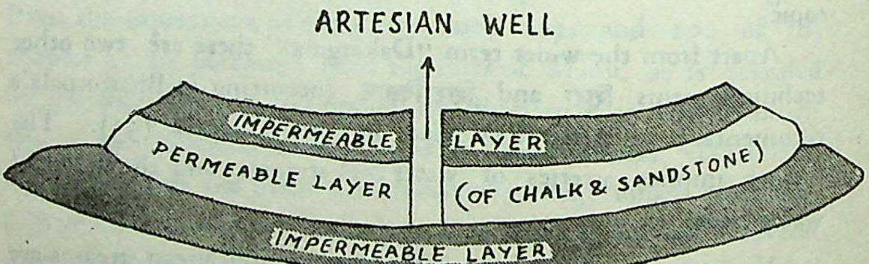
Now so far as the subject proper, the science of underground water and water-table is concerned, a brief survey of chapter 53 of the *Vṛhatsaṃhīta* designated as "Dakārgalam" is furnished below and we shall rest content with it, as it embraces both the precursers Sārasvata and Manu and in the literature of the posterior age little is available on this topic.

Apart from the wider term "Dakārgala," there are two other technical terms शिरा and शिराविज्ञान (occurring in Bhaṭṭotpala's commentary of verse 62) used in this Chapter (53). The former implies arteries of water or streams and the latter of water-table.

Verses 3, 4, and 5 inform us that the sub-terranean streams are ramified in all the quarters. Verse 1 tells us that at some places water table is higher and at others it is lower. From verse 2 we learn that water-table is a fountain of rain water. Water which falls from the sky originally has the same colour and the same taste, but assumes different colour and taste after coming down on the surface of the earth and after percolation. Then in the later verses are given the modes of occurrence of sub-terranean water and its depth at different places. In these verses sometimes scientific facts are mixed with imaginary concomittances. But the rock or soil structure and depth of water-table from the surface of the earth is generally described correctly. Pervious and imprevious strata are also referred to.[46]

From the point of view of occurrence of subterranean water, Varāhamihira has discussed three types of regions—जंगल[47] (area where water is not in abundance), अनूप[48] (where there is abundance of water at a comparatively small depth from the surface of the earth) and Marudeśa[49] (मरुदेश or desert tract).

The occurrence of underground water in the desert region is quite accurately described by versatile Varāhamihira. He says that sub-terranean streams or water-table in the desert region takes the shape of the neck of a camel and is at a great depth from the surface.[50] Geological strata scheme of the modern artison will fully corroborates this. (*Cf the diagram given below*). Later in verse 102 is described how water occurs in a mountaneous region.



(Artesian wells are now-a-days a common phenomenon in all advanced desert tracts, for example Australia, Algeria and other regions (Indian inclusive).

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[46] Verse 7, and with a little difference in meaning, verse 111.
[47] Verses preceding 47.
[48] Verses following 47.
[49] Verse 62, and the following ones.
[50] 53-62.

In the verse 104 we read that pebbly and sandy soil of copper colour makes water astringent; brown-coloured soil gives rise to alkaline water; yellowish soil makes water briny; and in blue soil underground water becomes pure and fresh.

Grammarians

In Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* (600-700 B C.), we come across several important geomorphological patterns. The grammarian calls a river moving and breaking its banks as भिन्द्य and one whose waters ourflow the banks as उद्ध्य.[51] Glacier is named as हिमानी.[52] Melting of snow is referred to as हिमश्रथ.[53] To a desert he gives the Vedic name धन्व.[54] A low land or a land at the foot of the mountain and table land or a high-land are referred to as उपत्यका and अधित्यका respectively, Patañjali (200 B. C.), however understood by उपत्यका a low land in the sense of a valley.[55]

Arthaśāstra and Nītiśāstra

Topography and Geomorphology have not been left out of the campus of the versatile genius of Kauṭilya (4th century B.C.). At a certain place in his *Arthaśāstra* he refers to elaborate land utilisation survey, which must have necessitated extensive knowledge of valid topography.[56] In another context he talks of "such varieties of land as forests, villages, waterfalls, level plains and uneven ground," (and most probably implicitly of others also) "stretching between the Himalayas and ocean."[57] All this evinces that he must have been a student of not only topography, but also to some extent of geomorphology. At various places he speaks of fertile, infertile, cultivable,

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51 *Aṣṭādhyāyi*—Text and Eng. Trans by S. C. Bose, III. 1. 15, p. 392.

52 IV. 1. 49. p. 633.

53 VII. 4. 29. p. 1264.

54 IV. 2. 121. p. 743.

55 *India in the time of Patañjali*, by B. N. Puri, p. 70.

56 Part I, Adhikaraṇa 2, chap 35. 3.

57 Shamasastri, p. 412.

uncultivable and waste land, which reveals that he must have possessed good knowledge of the science of soil also.[58]

In the *Śukranīti* (200 B. C.) also "barren and rocky soils"[59] and "uneven grounds"[60] are mentioned which indicate knowledge of different types of soils.

Verses 9 to 15 of the *Kāmandakīya-nītisāra* (C. 320 B. C) indicate that elaborate topographic studies must have been in vogue for military purposes,[61] apart from the revenue requirements. Rendering of verse 11 would sufficiently warrant this statement, "Devoid of sandy soils, mud, earthen mounds, gravels and stones and free from marshes, creepers, pit, trees, ...and such like things."

Various Purāṇas

The *Vāyu Purāṇa* refers to various types of topography, namely, lakes, dales, barren tracks,[62] rocky troughs between mountains (अन्तर्द्रोणी)[63] and longitudinal troughs lying between two filament like mountains,[64] rocky expanses[65] and dark mountain bowels.[66] The chapter also speaks of a large number of hot springs in a mountainous region—"तथा ह्यनत्न तप्तानि सरांसि द्विज मत्तमाः। शैल्तकुरयत्तरस्थानि शतानि च ॥[67]

In *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* we come across a peculiar type of topography found "in the *Kimpuruṣavarṣa* and seven other countries" where water bubbles up from the ground.[68] The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* informs us of obliteration of relief due to dissolutional erosion in these picturesque words.[69] "The three worlds, consumed by these suns, become rugged and deformed all over their mountains, rivers and seas and the earth bare of verdure, and destitute of moisture alone remain resembling in appearance the back of tortoise" Submergence of landmass due to the invasion or activity of ocean is also alluded to.[70]

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[58] *Ibid.*, p. 362-4

[59] IV. 2. 230 (Eng. Trans. by B. K. Sarkar).

[60] IV. 7. 268.

[61] XIX. p. 250 (M. N. Dutta).

[62] Chapter 38.

[63] 38. 36.

[64] 38. 45.

[65] 38. 68.

[66] 38. 77.

[67] 38. 78.

[68] 56. 21-22.

[69] VI. 3. 21-23.

The Paurāṇic geographers must have been acquainted with the great obliteration of relief through tectonic processes, upheavals and vigorous erosion, as the *Matsya Purāṇa* says: "Further to it (Jagadhara) is the inaccessible Nārada mountain where were in ancient time the two mountains of Nārada and Parvata."[71] The *Garuḍa Purāṇa* has recognised the exceptional erosive power of water which is said to be 'death or senility to mountain" (पर्वतानां जत्न, जरा).[72] In a certain context the Padma perhaps speaks of sand dunes.[73] (बालुकागिरि).

With slight variation several Purāṇas[74] classify the soils of subterranean regions (seven Pātālas) in seven categories (1) block; (2) white or yellowish; (3) blue or red, (4) yellow; (5) gravelly, (6) Hilly or boulder, and (7) golden hued.

A large number of the Purāṇas[75] assert that on the Meru-mountain four types of soils or rocks are found, namely, white in the east, yellow in the south, black on the west and red on the north.

The *Padma-Purāṇa* recognises[76] five types of rocks—quartz (metamorphic rocks); blue rocks (most probably granite and the akin ones). Indra blue rocks (perhaps a special variety of granite), yellow rocks, and white rocks (marble or stearite?). In *Varāha-Purāṇa* some particular type of rock has been given the appellation of भौमशिला (red rock or red sand stone).

The Vṛhatsaṃhitā also mentions a large variety of rocks purmeable and impermeable rocks (पुटभेदक and अपुटभेदक),[77] black-rocks[78] (अश्माञ्जनोपम), white rocks,[79] whitish rocks,[80] white and black,[81] yellowish,[82] brownish,[83] frog-coloured,[84] Kuluth-hued,[85] green[86] and copper rocks[87] (cuprite-chalcopyrite).

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[70] *Ibid.*, Eng. Trans., p. 438.

[71] 122. 11. [72] 115. 10. [73] 42. 181.

[74] Brahmāṇḍa (Purva), XX. 13-14; Brahma, XXI. 3; Skanda (Maheśvara-khaṇḍa (Kaum. khaṇḍa), 39. 2; Viṣṇu II. 5. 3.

[75] Varāha, 75. 15-17; Vāyu, 34. 47-48; Mārkaṇḍeya, 54. 14.

[76] Uttarakhaṇḍa 221. 7 to 10.

[77] 53. 7. [78] 53. 11.

[79] 53. 10. [80] 53. 20.

In this work four types of soils are recognised—white, red yellow and black and their smells are given to be those of clarified butter (घृत), blood, grains and wine respectively.[88] The four classes are said to have four different tastes—sweet, astringent, acid and bitter or pungent respectively.[89]

Works on Architecture

The *Mānasāra* is perhaps the earliest (circa 25 B. C.) and the most important achitectural treatise extant and known so far which furnishes considerable information on soils, their colour, taste, texture and smell and slope of a region.

In chapter III, it recognises four types of soils. The first type is said to have white colour, and sweet and fragrant taste; the second is reddish in colour and bitter in taste; the third yellowish in colour and sour in taste, and the last one has black colour and pungent taste.[90] In the following chapter it states of clayey, scratchy and crusty soil, without husks, ashes and gravels.[91] Then later on we read about various odours of soils—those having the smell of honey, oil, clarified butter, burnt things, bird, fish and dead body.[92]

The same subject is dilated upon in the second and third chapter of the *Mayamatam* (a little earlier or later than *Mānasāra*). It speaks of six types of smell of soils—those having the odour of Pumnāga, nutmeg or jasminum grandiflorum, lotus, paddy, rose or a particular flower (पाटल) and animals.[93] In the third verse it talks of homogeneous, solid, adhesive and smooth soil. In the following two verses it gives six varieties of soils having six different tastes—sweet, salty, sour, pungent, astringent and chilli-

81 53. 44.
82 53. 26.
83 53. 30.
84 53. 32.
85 53. 36.
86 53. 46.
87 53. 71.
88 52. 94.
89 52. 95.
90 III. 18 to 29 (lines).
91 IV. 18-19 (lines).
92 IV. 21-22 (lines).
93 Mayamatam III. 2-3.

bitter. In the same verses it recognises a pigeon coloured soil also.

The *Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra* typifies three varieties of terrain —जाङ्गल, अनूप and ordinary.[94] Jāṅgala is a desert or an arid tract with black soil. Riverine fertile tract having a higher and easily accessible water-table is styled as Anūpa. The ordinary terrain combines the characteristics of the former two. The same authority repeats the information on the subject given by its predecessors.[95]

The *Hayaśīrṣapañcarātra* .(between 400 and 800 A. D.) exhibits similar knowledge in its chapter VI. The *Mānasollāsa* or *Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi* treats of examination of soil and tract of battlefield.[96]

All the above authorities in their aforesaid chapters recognise various types of slope (प्लव). The *Aparājitapṛcchā* (12th or 13th century A. D.) gives eight kinds of slope.[97] This clearly evinces that the ancient Indian knew a lot about slope and its determination.[98]

In the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* (200 B. C.) also we have a discussion on soil or ground examination. According to this medical treatise there are two types of soil examination—(i) general and (ii) special. From the general examination of a soil, we learn whether it is full of holes, boulders, pebbles, anthills, uneven sandy, fertile or alkaline, bereft of joints or crevices, having higher or lower water-table, smooth and adhesive, soft and resistent to running water, and black, white and red in colour.[99] Special type of soil examination gives its five characteristics. Soil or earth which is pebbly, resistent, heavy, black, blue and abounding in vast vegetation cover is said to possess earth-characteristics (पृथ्वीगुणभूयिष्ठ). That which is smooth, adhesive and has a higher water-table, profuse humus and sufficient vegetation cover is known to be endowed with water-characteristics (जलगुणभूयिष्ठ). Soil having various colours strewn with small gravel and scattered vegetation cover is said to be possessed of five characteristics. Dry, rough and ash-coloured soil with their trees having small amount of moisture in their veins is acknowledged to be of wind-characteristics. Soft or even or homogeneous (समान) soil of unindentified qualities and water-table, full of useless trees, specially large mountainous ones and dark in colour is said to be of sky characteristics.[100] The same tome asserts that according to several authorities there are soils of various colours—red, brown, yellowish, blue, deep yellow and white.[101]

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[94] VIII. 2 to 6.

[95] VIII. 48-49, 59, 65.

[96] Vinśati 2, ch. 20. 1168-69.

[97] Edited by P. A. Mankad, Intro. p. XCIV. Eight kinds of slopes are— गोवीथि, जलवीथि, यमवीथि, गजवीथि, भूतिवीथि, नागवीथि, वैश्वानरी, वीथि and घनवीथि.

[98] There is another class of literature known as Āgamas falling in the pale of Tantric treatises which also contains some geographical material on soil, orientation and the like, but that makes no new or special addition. Hence it has been generally omitted. The Āgamas are 28 in number and most probably were composed between pre-Christian era and 7th or 8th c. A. D., the most important being कामिकागम, कर्णागम, सुप्रभेदागम and वैखानसागम. Here the date is based on "A History of Indian Literature" by Winternitz, vol I, p. 588.

Jaina Works

The *Vṛhatkṣetrasamāsa* is a reputed Jaina geographical treatise of the 6th or 7th century. Apart from dealing with the traditional geography, it has tried to probe into novel branches of the science. In the first Adhikāra[102] are given some speculations about geographic features, source, mouth and course of rivers. These enunciations are couched in such phraseology as appear to be quite scientific and mathematical conforming to some hydrographical or hydrological law, but actually they contain a very small grain of truth. One example would suffice. "The dimension of a river at its mouth when it enters ocean is

[99] *Sūtrasthāna*, chapter VI, para 3.

[100] *Ibid.*, para 4.

[101] *Ibid.*, para 5.

[102] Verses 226-232.

ten times that it possesses at its source in a lake or the like;"[103] The commentator, Malayagiri (between 1500 to 1250 A.D.), illustrates this theorem with an example. He says, "The Gaṅgā and Sindhu at their source possess a dimension of 6 yojanas and a krośa (2 miles); this gives their expanse at the mouth to be 62 yojanas and 2 krośas according to the above enunciated law."[104]

The *Prajñapanā* of Ayya Sama (Ārya Syāma, 250 B.C.) classifies[105] terrains and ores into forty categories:— 1. gravelly (rough and abounding in small pieces of stones); 2. sandy; 3. upal (several varieties of rocks and ores); 4. rocks; 5. salt or salt-rock; 6. Alkaline or barren soil; 7 to 13. ores of iron and the like; 14. diamond; 15-16-17. other rock structures; 18. Antimony 19. coral or coral reefs; 20. mica; 21-22. sand of mica (schist); 23. Gomedak (a variety of precious stone); 24. Rucaka (a precious stone); 25. Arika (अंक) (some stone); 26. crystaline rocks; 27. some red stratum; and 29 to 40. gems, granite and metamorphic rock and sedimentary ores (like mineral sandal).

In the same work the preceding aphorism typifies seven classes of soil: 1. black; 2. blue (perhaps produced by granite and kindred rocks; 3. red (laterite); 4. yellow; 5. white; 6. brown clayey and 7. Panakamṛttika (alluvial, debris deposition and clayey loam). It is creditable to recognise such scientific classification of soils.

The *Jīvajīvābhigamopāṅgam* also furnishes some information on the science of soil. It recognises six types of soils[106] 1. fine grained clay; 2. pure soil found in mountainous regions; 3. Manahśilā (some rocky soil); 4. sandy; 5. pebbly and coarse; and 6. that abounading in stones and boulders.

The Malayagiri commentary on the above aphosism surmises about the approximate age of each of above soils. He says,

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[103] I. 227.

[104] The commentary on the above verse.

[105] Chapter I, sūtra 15, with commentary of Malayagiri.

[106] Pratipatti 3, uddeśa 2, sūtra 101.

"The first soil continues for a thousand years; the second for twelve thousand years; the third for fourteen thousand years; the fourth for sixteen thousand years; the fifth. for eighteen thousand years; and the last one, for twenty-two thousand years." Most probably these statements embody some truth.

Buddhist Literature

The *Aṅguttaranikāya* classifies[107] lakes into four categories on a queer fundamental divisions—1. shallow appearing deep; 2. deep appearing shallow; 3. shallow appearing shallow and 4. deep appearing deep.

In the *Dīghanikāya* a shelving beach has been termed as पहम्[108]. The *Sumasumārajātaka* has used the word निवर्तन for what is now-a-days known as river-meander.[109] In the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* there is another allusion to the determination of slope.[110] The *Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā*[111] mentions several types of soil "even uneven, abounding in mud, abounding in grand, black, red, clay and red clay."

In a Jātaka[112] subterranean water and its science are also referred to. As has already been discussed, this science has great antiquity in India.[113]

MAYA PROSAD TRIPATHI

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[107] *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (P. T. S. London-1895-1900), Part II, p 105. Ancient Indians made still more close study of lakes. In the *Manusmṛti* a lake has been termed as "गर्त" (IV. 203). Its commetator Kullukabhaṭṭa (between 1150 to 1300) cites a very scientific verse from the *Chāndoga-pariśiṣṭa* providing the definition of such a lake "धनुः सहस्राण्यष्टौ च गतिर्यासां न विद्यते । न ता नदी·शब्द-वहा गर्तास्ता परि-कीर्तित ॥". "Water-bodies which are 4000 cubit (हाथ) in dimension and which have no movement are not called rivers, but lakes (गर्ताः)".

[108] Part I, p. 283, footnote 2.

[109] No. 208, p. 158, edited by Fauseboll. Eng. Trans. by Cowell.

[110] Eng. Trans. by Mrs Davids and Woodward, Vol V, p. 195.

[111] Eng. Trans. Burlingame, 1921, Part II, p. 29.

[112] *Vaṇṇupatha Jātaka* (No. 2), Eng. Trans. Cowell, p. 11.

[113] Cf. anterior page (Dakārgalam).

Comments on the Balance of Power in Central India

300—600 A.D.

It has been wondered often by historians as to how quickly and mysteriously, as it were, empires and kingdoms, mature and in the apogee of their prosperity, had almost overnight disappeared into apparent oblivion, and their historical records become abruptly sundered. It is interesting here to observe that this appears to be almost a cyclic process—a feature marking almost all the important kingdoms in certain crucial periods of ancient Indian history, and might have very relevant reasons underlying them. There were aslo factors of geography operating in many of these cases, converting some of the tracts into crucial zones for the sustenance and security of prosperous kingdoms. Notwithstanding that, it has to be admitted also that physical might and sheer superiority in defence and attack contributed to the fortunes of the kingdoms at stake. Curiously enough, however, all the concordant or discordant notes of the fortunes of the kingdoms did not vitiate the inter-play of artistic, cultural and civilizing trends all through their realms,

One such crucial zone was the Central Indian tract, once the kingdom of the glorious Vākāṭakas of Upper Deccan. As we know, there were two branches of this royal family, viz., the main branch of the northern part and the Basim (or Vatsa Gulma) branch of the southern part. The period was from the middle of the 3rd cent. to the early 6th cent. A.D. During this period, the fortunes of this family turned from the comparatively humble circumstances to the times of Pravarasena II—whose royal Dowager Queen mother Prabhavatigupta was the daughter of no less a person than the Gupta Emperor Candragupta II—and of Harisena of the Basim clan.

It is strange that the originator of the family, Vindhyaśakti is mentioned only in the Ajantā record of the Basim group and not elsewhere. Altekar held that this non-mention was perhaps due to his not having attained real royal status which was attained for the first time only by his son Pravarasena I. It has also been noted by historians that Vākāṭakas ceased to assume imperial titles after the reign of Pravarasena I who brought more or less the whole of Deccan under his sway. In this period 325-360 A.D. there was the rise of the imperial Gupta dynasty. Particularly the campaigns of Samudragupta who, along with Candragupta, assumed the titles of Mahārajādhirāja for the first time were directly connected with the fall of the Vākāṭaka Rudrasena from the royal status. But two schools of historians have offered opposite views on the nature of the relationship between the Vākāṭakas and the Guptas. Jayaswal and others had opined that there was regular enmity between these two groups and even that Samudragupta was responsible for the overthrow and death of Rudrasena I who is equated by these scholars with Rudradeva (of Āryavaṭṭa) of Samudragupta's pillar inscription at Allahabad. Altekar, taking the opposite view, held that had this feud existed, we would not have seen the selection of Prabhāvatīgupta as the bride for the son and successor of Rudrasena II. Here it becomes necessary to add some comments on this apparently contradictory state of affairs. On the one hand, we note that the Vākāṭakas were a very powerful and flourishing dynasty under Pravarasena I. In terms of temporal supremacy, they would constitute an obstacle to any other imperial aspirant in North India. That the Vākāṭaka dynasty had one foot in the Āryāvarta and another in the Deccan is also clear from the fact of their affiliation and association with the Bhāraśivas of Pawaya (Gwalior), which fact they emphasised in the invocatory part of their grants—particularly where it is stated that the Bhāraśivas had the honour of having performed ten Aśvamedhas on the Gangetic banks. The Nāgas and early Vākāṭakas obviously were the rivals of the Guptas in this period. Thus we can legitimately infer not only that Vākāṭakas had as much stake in Āryāvarta as in the Deccan, but also that the

Rudrasena mentioned in Samudragupta's inscription would be none other than Rudrasena I, if he was such a figure as to merit mention in the Digvijaya of Samudragupta. The question however remains inexplicable as to how the Gupta house having caused the standard of the Vākāṭaka house to be lowered directly or indirectly, brought about a marriage alliance with them. The reasons are not far to seek. The alliance between the Guptas and the Vākāṭakas was nothing but a political device. A complete downfall of the Vākāṭaka dynasty would create a political vacuum in upper Deccan and Central India, and the resultant clash of claimants for this region would not have been in the interests of the status and security of the Gupta royal house. Perhaps there was an internal cleavage between the northern and southern branches of the Vākāṭaka clan, in events like Prabhāvatīgupta not taking any help from Vindhyasena and Pravarasena II of Basim branch who were her contemporaries during the period of her Regency. Indeed, there are many reasons to think that the seeming outward cohesion of the Vākāṭaka kingdom in Deccan was mainly due to the efforts of the Basim clan, and that it was Vindhyasena or Vindhyaśakti II of the Basim clan and not Prithvisena I of the direct line, who was responsible for the conquest of the Kuntala country, as now clarified by fresh readings of the Ajantā inscriptions of Cave XVI by Mirashi. Vindhyaśakti ruled over a fairly extensive kingdom which included the old Berar, Khāndesh and the present north-eastern Mahārāṣṭra tracts of Poona, Nasik, Satara, etc. Indeed, when the Gupta empire itself crumbled after the death of Budhagupta towards the end of the 5th cent. A. D., we find Harisena, the most important king of the Basim clan, making the best use of the confusion and bringing under his subjugation Central India, Malwa, Gujarat, etc., as claimed in the Ajantā record.

In this period, we find arrayed around the Vākāṭaka kingdom of Central India, the Kośalas of Chattisgarh, the Nalas and Somavaṃsis of Bundelkhand, the Kalacuris, the Traikuṭakas and

Kṣatrapas in the west, the Viṣṇukundins, Cālukyas, Kuntalas, Rāṣṭrakuṭas, etc., in the south.

The Bundelkhand inscriptions at Nachne-ki-talai and Ganj inform us of a king Vyāghrarāja owing allegiance to the Vākāṭaka king Prithvīsena. Altekar claimed that this Vyāghrarāja was not the same person mentioned to be defeated by Samudragupta, and that Samudragupta's sway over Sagar district of Madhyapradesh was achieved only through Kauśāmbi, Citrakūṭa and Kaliñjar, and not through Satna, Katni and Jabalpur, basing his claim on the strength of the Gupta inscriptions found in the former and not found in the latter link-tract. He is, however, agreeable to this Vyāghra being of the Ucchakalapa clan—contemporary to Prithvisena II (c. 460-480 A.D.)—and who were feudatiories of the Guptas, and used the Imperial Era also. In any event, it is clear that Bundelkhand was under the sphere of influence both of the Guptas and of the Vākāṭakas, and in case of any rupture, the local kings would have asserted their independence.

The Kṣatrapas had been the northwestern neighbours of the Vākāṭakas, and indeed had been under the sway of the latter during the 1st part of the 4th cent. A.D. Actually the marriage between Prabhāvatīgupta and Rudrasena II was to help the conquest of Gujarat and Saurāṣṭra by the Guptas who presumably wanted an able and dependable ally in the southern flank to help troop movements. The Kṣatrapas were thus waiting to be freed from the sway and influence of the Vākāṭakas.

The Nalas of Chattisgarh and Bastar are clearly found to have run into the eastern part of the Vākāṭaka territory, almost upto their capital Nandivardhana, in the time of Nala king Bhavadatta Varman who is to be placed, on palaeographical data, in the middle of the 5th cent. A.D. This shows that in the time of accession of Narendrasena, the very heart of the Vākāṭaka territory, was vulnerable to Nala attack. The latter very soon regained the lost territory after inflicting a heavy blow on the Nala capital itself, probably in the time of the Nala king Skandavarman. The Nalas thus kept an uneasy feudatory status under the Vākāṭakas for a while. In a similar way, if the sudden, though short-lived, successes of Mahāmatra, the Sarabhapura king against the Vākāṭaka king Prithvīsena II, and temporary occupation of Berar and south Madhyapradesh be any clue, the imperative necessity of a vigorous leader for keeping the Vākāṭaka banner flying in full glory could not be underestimated.

Again, we find that the Trikuṭakas from the west, in north Konkan, with a coinage and regnal era of their own (c 445-475 A.D.) had entered into Vākāṭaka dominions and despite the temporary staving off of the enemy by Prithvīsena, they had not stopped with this initial thrust but carried it further in the reign of the next Traikuṭaka king Vyāghrasena. Indeed, at the time of the last king Prithvīsena II of the main Vākāṭaka line, we find no sign of sturdy stewardship of the ship of State and it was the competence of king Harisena of the Basim line that kept the downfall of the dynasty from materialising itself. Actually, Harisena is described Ajanta record as the conqueror of Avantī, Kuntala, Kaliṅga, Kośala, Trikuṭa and Lāṭa.

The celebrated Kalacuris were ruling over a fairly extensive country comprising parts of Gujarat, Khandesh and Malwa. They appear to have come into possession of the territories held by the Vākāṭakas, in the middle of the 6th cent. A.D., and we have three kings of the line Kṛṣṇārāja, Sankaragāṇa and Buddharāja. The Western Calukyas under Mangalesa, and later, Pulakesin had to bring them under effective subjugation. That why we find may be a reason in places like Ellora, coins of Kalacuris—presumably indicating an effective sway over that area, prior to Cālukyas.

That the Rāṣṭrakūṭas were in sufficient control of some tracts in Central India prior to their consolidation and worsting of the Cālukyas is now little disputed. The different Rāṣṭrakūṭa chieftains ruling at various places do not appear to be an unified ruling dynasty. By the Tiwarkhed plates of Nannarāja dated A.D. 611, the Narmada Tapti doab comprising modern Betul District and the neighbouring tracts of Madhyapradesh are found to be under Rāṣṭrakūṭa chieftains. These were wrested from them only by Pulakesin II.

The Kadambas of Kuntala in south Karnataka had already matrimonial relationship with the Vākāṭakas. The mother of Prithvīsena II was a Kuntala princess. Narendrasena married a daughter of a king of the Kuntala country, perhaps of Kākusthavarman. The rulers like Kākusthavarman, Mṛgeśavarman and Ravivarman were powerful and illustrious, and their liaison with the Guptas and the Vākāṭakas was to enlarge the scope of their own territorial jurisdiction at an opportune moment.

All these allies, rivals and feudatories were keeping a watchful eye on the progress of tie between the Vākāṭaka and the Gupta Royal Houses and when that tie snapped with the death of Harisena in 570 A.D., they established themselves corresponding adjacent tracts of the erstwhile Vākāṭaka kingdom.

It required great guts on the part of Harisena to tackle all the potential opponents. We find that efforts were made by every king to strengthen his bonds with his confederates in order that he may bide his time to carve out a territory at the propitious hour. The mother of Prithvīsena II of the direct Vākāṭaka clan was a Kuntala princess. The bride of Madhavavarman I, the son of the Viṣṇukundin Vikramendra was a Vākāṭaka princess. And above all the marriage of Prabhavatīgupta with Rudrasena II was motivated by considerations of statecraft. As the Gupta dynasty disintegrated, the Vākāṭaka kingdom was likewise dismembered.

This is analogous to what happened in the 4th cent. A.D. in the lower Deccan where Ikṣvāku kingdom of the lower Kriṣṇa a host of dynasties like the Salankayanas, Abhiras, Pallavas, Cālukyas, etc. bit into. In ancient India, political power was entirely sustained by military might and the individual calibre and intrepid character of the kings and their diplomacy. When this was lacking in any given situation, disintegration set in. Kings who became connoisseurs of art and culture and patrons of religion might have endeared themselves to their people and might have raised fitting memorials of art and architecture in their wake, but if political stamina was lacking, they almost invariably left the kingdoms open for the rival movements and political leadership shifted places in consequence. Art and culture, no doubt, moved across political boundaries and enthused the craftsmen and the votaries alike. The same was the case with the Vākāṭaka kingdom. The Vākāṭaka dynasty was responsible for the interplay, in the cultural sphere, of many elements such as Gupta, Kalacuri and Cālukya as at Ajanta and Ellora. We know enough of the power-conflict which was raging around Central India in the period between 275-500 A.D. from the time of Pravarasena I to the time of Harisena of Basim clan, to note that if there was any formative stage for the clear polarisation of political hegemony and consolidation of *kingdoms* into *empires* in the sequel, it was here in the Vākāṭaka tract and in the 3rd to 6th cent. A. D. The sequel is interesting in that the whole of Āryāvarta again became one under Harṣa, the entire Deccan virtually under Cālukyas and Rāṣṭrakūṭas, and the lower south under the Pallavas. The lesser royal families either fell out of the combat or were neutralised in the conflict. Thus, howsoever, gallant and prosperous it was, the disintegration of the Vākāṭaka realm, followed the same pattern as the Gupta the Ikṣvāku and the Western Cālukya dynasty after the mighty Pulakesin II, all of which collapsed in the inevitable cyclic process of balance of military power by the fall of a unitary and dominant leader.

K. V. SOUNDARA RAJAN

The Professional Jesters of the Vedic Age

Jests have formed in all times and climes a very light but pleasant diversion for people of all ages and positions, and the necessity of these has been felt equally by kings and commoners either for relief after languid hours or for relaxation after prolonged physical and mental strain. It is for this reason that jesters have been found to exist from early times in civilized societies in the different parts of the earth, and people, naturally inclined to or equipped for jesting, have often taken it up as a delightful profession for easy solution of their bread problem. In India, as in other countries, there have been professional jesters to amuse people of varied positions in life, but their function and use have been, in many respects, unique and quite different from those of the fun-makers of the other parts of the world. The evidence of the early Sanskrit works shows that the jesters attached to the royal assemblies in ancient India enjoyed a position of high respect. They were given by their royal masters the status of Sacivas (Counsellors) and treated as trusted friends (vayasya, sakhā), because they served the latter not only as amusing fun-makers giving relief to their taxed mind and nerves but also as witty and extremely cautious guides and psychologists guarding them constantly against dangers from enemies. That this position and function of the jesters of ancient India was not a later development but had its beginning as far back as in the Vedic period, is shown by a verse of the *Ṛg-veda* itself which runs as follows:

> aśvo̱ vo̱ḷhā́ sukhaṃ rathám̐ hasanā́m úpamantriṇáḥ/,
> ... ... vārin maṇḍūká icchatī́ndrā́yendo̱ parí srava//,
> (ix. 112. 4).

In this verse the expression 'hasanām upamantriṇaḥ (icchanti)', which is highly significant and important for our purpose, is explained by Sāyaṇa thus:

'upamantriṇaḥ upamantravanto *narma-sacivāḥ* hasanām upahasanāṃ vācam icchanti'.[1]

So, according to Sāyaṇa, it refers to the coaxing *pleasure-companions* who want fun-making for the creation of laughter. The said verse has been quoted in full in Yāska's *Nirukta*, and Mukunda Śarman explains the words 'hasanām upamantriṇaḥ' in the same way and even in almost the same words as those of Sāyaṇa.[2] K. F. Geldner also takes the word 'upamantrin' in the sense of 'fun-maker' and translates the first half of the said verse thus:

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[1] These words occur in Sāyaṇa's explanation of the said verse of the *Ṛg-veda*, which runs as follows :

> voḷhā lakṣyaṃ deśaṃ prāpayan aśvaḥ sukhaṃ kalyāṇaṃ ratham icchati/ upamantriṇaḥ ... ... upahasanāṃ vācam icchanti/ ... ... *yathā* ... ... maṇḍūkaḥ vār-it/id avadhāraṇe/ udakam evecchati/ *tathāhaṃ tvat-parisravaṇam icchāmi*/ tasmāt indrāyendo pari srava iti//

It will be noticed that, so far as the use of the expression 'tathāhaṃ tvat-parisravaṇam icchāmi' is concerned, Sāyaṇa's explanation of the said verse of the *Ṛg-veda* is not beyond objection. As a matter of fact, the author of this verse invokes Soma (juice) to flow out in favour of Indra, desiring this god as its drinker, just as a draught horse desires a light chariot, the jesters desire such (appropriate) words as excite others' laughter, ... and a frog desires water.

[2] See Yāska's *Nirukta* (with Mukunda Śarman's commentary which claims to follow that of Durgācārya; Nirṇaya Sāgara Press edition, Bombay, 1930), 9.2 (p. 408)—

> ... ... yathā voḷhā vahana-samarthaḥ/aśvaḥ lakṣyaṃ deśaṃ prāpayan sukhaṃ sukhakaraṃ kalyāṇaṃ ratham icchati/ upamantriṇaḥ upamantravanto narma-sacivāḥ/hasanām upahasanām (upahāsa-pradhānāṃ) vācam icchanti/ ... .../tathā ahaṃ tvat-parisravaṇam icchāmi, ataḥ indrāya ... pari srava ... ... /

It should be mentioned here that Durgācārya left all the words from 'hasanām upamantriṇaḥ' without comment.—See Yāska's *Nirukta* (edited, with Durgācārya's commentary, by Satyavrata Sāmaśramī and published by the Asiatic Society, Calcutta), 9.2. In his note on p. 2 of vol. IV of his edition Satyavrata Sāmaśramī says: 'ṭīkākṛtā bhagavad-durgācāryeṇāyaṃ khaṇḍaḥ kuto na vyākhyātaḥ, kathaṃ vā ṛg-bhāṣye pramāṇatvenāsau sāyaṇenāgṛhītaś ceti cintyam eva'.

"Das Zugpferd wünscht den leichten Wagen, *die Spassmacher Gelächter*, ..." (The draught horse desires a light chariot, *the fun-maker's laughter*, ...)[3].

H. H. Wilson, on the other hand, translates the said half as follows:

"The draught horse (desires) a cart easy (to draw); *those who invite guests (desire) merriment*; ... ... "[4]

But Wilson's interpretation of the word 'upamantriṇaḥ' does not appear to be happy and reasonable, because 'upa+√mantṛ', as known from the Saṃhitās (of the *Yajurveda*), the Brāhmaṇas and the Āraṇyakas,[5] mean simply 'to call', 'to invite', 'to beckon', and there is nothing in the word 'upamantrin' which may indicate that 'upa+√mantṛ', which forms the basis of this word, is not to be taken in a general sense but is to be understood in a meaning limited by its association with a particular type of persons (called 'guests') as its objects. Moreover, the primary meaning of the word 'hasanā' (derived from the root 'has'—to laugh) is 'laughter' or 'what creates laughter', 'merriment' being its secondary meaning. Under these circumstances we have got no other way than taking the word 'upamantriṇaḥ' to mean 'jesters'. As in the said verse this word cannot be taken in its literal sense to mean 'those who call or invite or beckon' and thus be associated with 'hasanām' without an unwarranted stretch of imagination, it naturally comes to be a technical term, used with a conventional meaning, for a particular class of people meant for fun-making and known in later times as 'Narma-sacivas'. Although there is no second use of the term 'upamantrin' in the whole range of the Vedic literature now extant and the word 'mantrin' is found used (very likely in the sense of 'a minister') only as late as in the Śatarudrīya section of the *Yajurveda*[6], the post-Vedic tradition of the connection of

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[3] Geldner, *Der Rig-veda* (Dritter Teil, Neunter Bis Zehnter Liederkreis), Harvard Oriental Series, vol. 35, 1951, p. 119.

[4] Wilson, *Ṛg-veda* (translated into English), vol. V (edited by E. B. Cowell and W. F. Webster, Poona, 1928), p. 338.

[5] See *Taittirīya-saṃhitā* (Ānandāśrama Press edition, Poona, with Sāyaṇa-bhāṣya), ii. 4.1.1, ii. 6.6.5, vi. 1.3.1, vi. 2.7.1, and vi. 4.10.1; *Kāṭhaka-saṃhitā* (ed. Leopold von Schroeder, Leipzig, 1900-10), 10 7.25-6 and 29.1; *Kapiṣṭhala-kaṭha-saṃhitā* (as used in *Vaidika-padānukrama-koṣa*, edited by Vishva-Bandhu Shastri and published by Vishveshvarānand Vedic Research Institute, Hoshiarpur, India, 1955, vol. 1—Saṃhitā-bhāga, part II, p. 935), 39.3. 45.2; *Aitareya-brāhmaṇa* (Ānandāśrama Press edition, Poona), 7.17 (p. 855); *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa* (ed. A. Weber, Berlin), i. 4.1.34, iii. 2.1.19-21 and 5.1.21, iv. 1.4.4 and 3.3.7, v. 3.5.14, etc.; *Tāṇḍya-mahābrāhmaṇa* (ed. Bibliotheca Indica, Asiatic Society, Calcutta), vii. 5.20; *Śāṅkhāyana-brāhmaṇa* (Ānandāśrama Press edition) i. 2; *Śāṅkhāyana-āraṇyaka* (Ānandāśrama Press edition, 1922), 4. 1; *Taittirīya-āraṇyaka* (Ānandāśrama Press edition with Sāyaṇa-bhāṣya), ii. 2.1.

Sāyaṇa does not appear to be right in taking the word 'upamantraye', occurring in *Aitareya-brāhmaṇa*, 7.17 (p. 855), to mean 'vyavaharāmi'.

Martin Haug gives 'instal' as the English equivalent for it, but A. B. Keith translates it as 'invite.—See Haug's *Aitareya-brāhmaṇa* II (translation with Notes), p. 469, and Keith's *Ṛgveda-brāhmaṇas*, Harvard Oriental Series, vol. 25, 1920, p. 306.

[6] See *Taittiriya-saṃhitā*, iv. 5.2.2, *Kapiṣṭhala-kaṭha-saṃhitā* (edited by Raghu Vira and published by Mehar Chand Lacchman Das, Lahore, first edition, 1932), xxvii. 2 and *Vājasaneyī-saṃhitā* (ed. Nirṇaya Sāgara Press, Bombay, 1929, with Uvaṭācārya and Mahīdhara's commentaries) 16.19. In all these places the word 'mantrin' (in the expression 'namo mantriṇe vāṇijāya kakṣāṇāṃ pataye namaḥ') has been used as an epithet of Rudra.

In commenting on the *Taittirīya-saṃhitā* Sāyaṇa explains the word 'mantrī' thus: 'rāja-sabhāyāṃ mantrālocana-kuśalo mantrī'; and A. B. Keith translates it as 'minister' (see Keith's translation of the *Taittirīya-saṃhitā*, Part 2, Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. 19, p. 355).

Similarly, in their commentaries on the *Vājasaneyī Saṃhitā* Uvaṭa and Mahīdhara explain this word as 'prasiddha eva mantrī' and 'ālocana-kuśalo mantrī' respectively.

Griffith, Eggeling and Muir, on the other hand, take it to mean 'prudent', 'wise' and 'observant' respectively and to be an adjective to 'vāṇija' immediately following the word 'mantrin'.—See R. T. H. Griffith, *The Texts of the White Yajurveda* (translated with a Popular Commentary;

'Mantrins' and 'Upamantrins' primarily with the crown indicates that the fun-making Upamantrins, mentioned in the *Ṛg-veda*, were state employees. Thus, we see that even in the *Ṛg-vedic* period there were fun-makers who were associated with the crown and recognised as state officers. The term 'upamantrin' used in the plural number for these fun-makers seems to indicate that a number of them was attached to a particular king in this capacity and that they not only diverted and pleased their royal patron by their fun-making but also worked as his counsellors and guides on occasions calling for their service. As a matter of fact, the root 'mantṛ' has been used in the *Ṛg-veda* on one occasion, according to Sāyaṇa, to mean 'holding secret counsels.'[7]

Besides the state jesters mentioned above, the Vedic people must have been familiar with the popular fun-makers also. In their long lists of persons to be offered to relevant deities in a Puruṣa-medha Sacrifice, the *Vājasaneyī-saṃhitā* and the *Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa* mention a 'kāri' who is to be sacrificed to 'Hasa', the god of laughter (hasāya kārim)[8]. In commenting on the former work Mahīdhara gives 'karaṇa-viśiṣṭam' and 'karaṇa-śīlam' as equivalents for the word 'kārim' occurring in *Vājasaneyī-saṃhitā* 30.6 and 30.20 respectively. Sāyaṇa, on the other hand, explains this word occurring in *Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa* iii.4.2. as

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second edition, Benares, 1927), p. 170; J. Eggeling's translation of the Śatarudrīya section of the *Yajurveda* given in his *Satapatha-brāhmaṇa* (translated into English), part IV (Sacred Books of the East, vol. 43, Oxford, 1897), p. 151; J. Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, vol. IV (second edition, London, 1873), p. 327. But we fail to understand how the root 'mantṛ', which is at the basis of the word 'mantrin', can be taken to mean prudence, wisdom or observance. A counsel may be prudent or imprudent, wise or unwise, and observance is outside the meanings of the said root.

[7] *Ṛg-veda* i. 164. 10. In this verse the word 'mantrayante' has been explained by Sāyaṇa as 'guptaṃ parasparaṃ bhāṣante'. Wilson translates it as 'take counsel'. In his *Ṛg-artha-dīpikā* Mādhava takes this word to mean 'kathayanti'. See *Ṛg-artha-dīpikā* of Mādhava (ed. Lakshman Sarup), vol. II (published by Motilal Banarasi Das, Lahore, 1940), p.285.

[8] *Vājasaneyī Saṃhitā* 30.6 and 20, and *Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa* iii. 4.2.

follows: "kārim nṛtyann iva yo gacchati tādṛśam vikaṭa-gamanakāriṇam". According to Śākaṭāyana, Pāṇini and others, the word 'kāri' may be derived from the root 'kṛ' in two different ways—(i) by means of the Kṛt suffix 'iñ' added in the feminine sense to mean 'work', 'action' (kriyā, kṛti) when a question and an answer (as in a dialogue) are implied,[9] and (ii) by adding the Uṇādi suffix 'iñ' in the sense of a 'kāru' (artist—śilpin).[10] As in the *Vājasaneyī-saṃhitā* and the *Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa* the word 'kāri' has been used to mean a human being (and not 'work' or 'action'—kriyā, kṛti) and as there is no question or answer in the relevant places of these two works, its derivation with the Kṛt suffix 'iñ' is impossible. So, it must be dérived with the Uṇādi suffix 'iñ' and taken to mean 'an artist' (kāru, śilpin). Now, we have already seen that Sāyaṇa takes this word ('kāri') to mean 'a person walking abnormally like one who goes dancing, as it were'. As neither this word itself (which has been derived from the root 'kṛ' meaning 'to do') nor the context in which it has been used in the said works, suggests in any way its slightest association with the idea of 'going' (gamana), normal or abnormal, Sāyaṇa's explanation must be taken as laboured and rejected consequently as absolutely implausible and unreliable. As to the equivalents 'karaṇa-viśiṣṭam' and 'karaṇa-śīlam' given for it by Mahīdhara, it is rather difficult to say what this commentator actually means by these two expressions. If the word 'karaṇa' is taken to mean 'a body' or 'an organ of sense', then 'karaṇa-viśiṣṭam' cannot mean anything but one 'who is furnished with (or, characterised by) a body (or, organs of sense)', whereas 'karaṇa-śīlam' should mean a (licentious) person 'habitually given to the body (or, organs of sense)'. But these two meanings, being quite different from each other and yielding no ground for relation between the kāri and the god of laughter, cannot be utilised reasonably in the correct understanding of the meaning of the expression 'hasāya kārim.' Even if 'hasa' is taken to mean 'upahāsa' (ridicule), as Sāyaṇa has done on one occasion in his commentary on the *Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa* (iii.4.15),[11] then also we find no reason why one who is 'karaṇa-viśiṣṭam' (furnished with, or characterised by, a body or organs of sense) should be an object of 'upahāsa' (ridicule). If, again, the word 'karaṇa' is taken to mean 'action' or 'work' (kṛti, kārya) and associated with hāsya (because a kāri, being an object of sacrifice to the god of laughter, who is his relevant deity, must have something to do with hāsya in some capacity or other), then 'kārim', according to Mahīdhara, comes to mean 'hāsya-karaṇa-viśiṣṭam' (one who is distinguished by the act of laughing) and 'hāsya-karaṇa-śīlam' (one who is habituated to giving out laughter), i.e. one who himself is the frequent *doer* of the act of laughing. This meaning of the word 'kāri' may appear to be very probable[12] so far as its relation with 'hasa' is concerned, but we cannot overlook the fact that Sanskrit grammarians make no express provision for the formation of the word 'kāri' meaning either 'a doer' or 'a distinguished or habituated doer', although, as we have already seen, they give a rule (kṛña udīcāṃ kāruṣu) for the derivation of 'kāri' meaning a 'kāru' (artist). As there is no use of the word 'kāri' in the whole range of the Vedic literature except in the places mentioned above and as the derivation of this word (as occurring in the said Vedic works) by the Uṇādi rule 'kṛña udīcāṃ kāruṣu' admits of no objection and is perfectly logical from the point of view of meaning, there is no necessity of ascribing to it an

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[9] vibhāṣ-ākhyāna-paripraśnayor iñ ca.—Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* iii. 3.10.

[10] kṛña udīcām kāruṣu—an Uṇādi-sūtra (in Pāda iv), for which see Bhaṭṭoji-dīkṣita's *Siddhānta-kaumudī* (ed. Nirṇaya Sāgara Press, Bombay, 1924), p. 312. Bhaṭṭoji-dīkṣita gives 'śilpī' as the synonym for 'kāriḥ'.

As, in 'kāri', there is the Vṛddhi vowel (ā), it could not be formed by the Uṇādi-sūtra 'sarva-dhātubhya in' (given in *Siddhānta-kaumudī*, p. 311), which allows only Guṇa (and not Vṛddhi).

[11] hasāya puṃścalūm ālabhate// (Sāyaṇa's commentary—hasāya upahāsābhimānine puṃścalūṃ svecchācāriṇīm ...).

[12] As a matter of fact, in their famous lexicon *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch* Otto Böhtlingk and Rudolph Roth follow Mahīdhara in giving 'karaṇa-śīla' as a synonym for 'kāri' and translate it with the words 'eher jubelnd'.

unauthorised meaning and of deriving it, for that, by unnecessarily extending the scope of Pāṇini's rule 'uṇādayo bahulam' (iii.3.1) by taking undue advantage of the word 'bahulam' used in it. As a matter of fact, Pāṇini's use of this word in the said rule is not meant for allowing unrestricted freedom in the formation of Kṛdanta words and in ascribing any meaning to them according to one's sweet will or necessity, but it points to the irregular derivation of a large number of words, already in wide use in his days, about which he gave no rule in his *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, even though these words could be derived irregularly, without coming under any general rule, by means of 'uṇ' and other affixes added to verbal roots. So, we have to set aside Mahīdhara's interpretations also as equally forced and unreliable and follow the Sanskrit grammarians in deriving the word 'kāri' by means of the Uṇādi suffix 'iñ' added to the root 'kṛ' according to the Uṇādi-sūtra 'kṛña udīcāṃ kāruṣu' and in taking it to mean 'an artist', who, from his association with the relevant deity Hasa (the god of laughter) in the Vedic works mentioned above, must be an artist of laughter. It is hardly necessary to say that an artist of laughter is one who is not only an expert in giving out various kinds of laughter but is also capable of making others laugh by his expert fun-making. According to Griffith also, this word (kāri), as occurring in *Vājasaneyī-saṃhitā* 30. 6 and 20, means 'artist' and 'jester' respectively;[13] and Eggeling takes it to mean 'artizan' in the said two places but is not sure about this meaning (as the alternative meaning 'singer of praises', given once after a querry, shows)[14].

That the above modification of the meaning of the root 'kṛ' from context is nothing peculiar or abnormal, is shown by *Ṛg-veda* viii. 21. 12, viii. 66. 1 and ix. 16. 5, in the first of which the word 'kāriṇaḥ' is taken by Sāyaṇa to mean 'hiṃsāṃ kurvataḥ' and translated by Wilson as 'contending against', in the second Sāyaṇa takes 'kāriṇam' to mean 'hita-karaṇa-śīlam' and Wilson translates it as 'beneficent', and in the third 'kāriṇaḥ' is explained by Sāyaṇa as 'bala-karaṇa-śīlāḥ' and translated by Wilson as 'giving vigour'.[15] There are other instances of similar use of the root 'kṛ' in the Vedic works, but it is needless to cite them here.

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[13] R. T. H. Griffith, *The Texts of the White Yajurveda* (translated with a Popular Commentary), pp. 304 and 307.

[14] See J. Eggeling's translation (pp. 413 and 417) of *Vājasaneyī-saṃhitā* 30. 5-22 (on Puruṣa-medha Sacrifice) given in his *Satapatha-brāhmaṇa* (translated into English), part V (Sacred Books of the East, vol. XLIV, Oxford, 1900), pp. 413-7.

From the meaning of the word 'kāri' stated above it is evident that among the people of the Vedic age there were some who practised fun-making as an art for exciting others to laughter. Their mention by the term 'kāri' (as distinct from 'upamantrin') indicates that they were different from the court jesters and must have earned their livelihood by amusing the common run of people.

Now, the question arises as to whether the jesters of the Vedic age took any active part in the amorous activities of their patrons, royal or otherwise. We see that Kāmandaka mentions the court jesters by the term 'narma-saciva',[16] which must have come to be applied to them from a date much earlier than that of Kāmandaka. It is a fact that the word 'narma' has been used neither in the *Ṛg-veda*, *Sāma-veda* and *Atharva-veda* nor in the Saṃhitās of the *Yajurveda* except that of the Vājasaneyins; and in the expressions 'narmāya rebham' (occurring in

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[15] H. H. Wilson, *Rig-veda* (translated into English), vol. V (Poona, 1928), pp. 62, 138, 214. For K. F. Geldner's interpretation of the said words of the *Ṛg-veda* see his German translation *Der Rig-veda*, II (Harvard Oriental Series, vol. 34, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1951), pp. 326 and and III (H. O. S., vol. 35), p. 21.

[16] See *Nīti-sāra* (Trivandrum ed., 1912), 5. 20—

na narma-sacavaiḥ sārdhaṃ kiṃcid apy apriyaṃ vadet/
te hi marmaṇy abhighnanti prahāsenaiva saṃsadi//

"They must not say anything unpleasant to the [king's] jesters (narma-saciva), because the latter strike [people] in the inmost parts [of their mind and thereby bring out the secrets lying therein] even by means of loud laughter (prahāsa) in an assembly."

Vājasaneyī-saṃhitā 30.6 and *Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa* iii.4.2) and 'narmāya bhadravatīm' (in *Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa* iii.4.15), the word 'narma' has been used in a sense having no association with the idea of amours.[17] It is only in *Vājasaneyī-saṃhitā* 30.20 (narmāya puṃścalūm) where this word, being employed in connection with a 'puṃścalū' (harlot), indicates the association of its meaning with amorous pastimes, but we cannot overlook the facts that the *Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa* (iii.4.15) has 'hasāya puṃścalūm' for 'narmāya puṃścalūm' of the *Vājasaneyī-saṃhitā* (30.20) and that for the expression 'gītāya sūtaṃ nṛttāya śailūṣam' of this Brāhmaṇa (iii.4.2) the *Vājasaneyī Saṃhitā* (30.6) wrongly has 'nṛttāya sūtaṃ gītāya śailūṣam' (although the Vedic and Purāṇic traditions associate the Sūta with 'music' and not with 'dancing', which is meant for Śailūṣas). So, it is not at all safe to make, on the basis of the expression 'narmāya puṃścalūm' of the *Vājasaneyī-saṃhitā*, any statement to the effect that the meaning of the word 'narma' came to be associated with amours even in the time of that Saṃhitā. As in the Vedic works this word (narma) has not been used in connection with jesters and as the Vedic passages containing the mention of the 'upamantrins' and the 'kāri' are completely silent about the connection of these persons with amorous activities, we may hold that even the court jesters of the Vedic age, who had also to serve their royal patrons as counsellors and guides, took no active part in the amorous activities of the latter.

It appears that as the state jesters had to guard their royal patrons against dangers by their constant company and salutary advice, they naturally got associated more or less with the latter's amorous pastimes also; but it was in much later days that they came to be active helpers in these, probably in imitation of the popular fun-makers who, as known particularly from Vātsyāyana's *Kāma-sūtra*, lacked many of the privileges and activities of the state jesters for want of scope and were, in course of time, compelled by circumstances to associate themselves with fashionable men of wealth or with courtesans as active agents in their love affairs. There is hardly any doubt that in their choice of this modified vocation of life the popular fun-makers were influenced by their brothers of the same profession in state service, who did the duties of spies and psychologists in addition to their usual work of fun-making.

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[17] According to Sāyaṇa, 'narma' means 'vinoda' (pleasant diversion) and 'priya-vacana' (pleasing words) in the expressions 'narmāya rebham' and 'narmāya bhadravatīm' respectively of the *Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa* (iii. 4. 2 and 15). Griffith and Eggeling translate this word (occurring in *Vājasaneyī-saṃhitā* 30,6—narmāya rebham) as 'sport' and 'fun' respectively.—See R. T. H. Griffith, *The Texts of the White Yajurveda* (translated with a Popular Commentary), p. 304, and J. Eggeling, *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa* (translated into English), part V, p. 413.

R. C. Hazra

Glimpses of Political History from the Nāṭya Śāstra of Bharata

The importance of the Nāṭya Śāstra of Bharata as an outstanding treatise on dramaturgy was recognised from very early times. It abounds in materials of diverse nature belonging to the different strata of the contemporary society which, when carefully collated and analysed, furnish valuable data for reconstructing the lost history of the time and for ascertaining the date of the composition of the Nāṭya Śāstra.

The historical value of the Nāṭya Śāstra consists mainly in the reference to the Śakas, Yavanas, Pahlavas, Vālhīkas, Andhras and other tribes who had entered into India at that time. The frequent references to these intruders unmistakably prove that the compiler of the Nāṭya Śāstra was aware of the political vicissitudes which India was undergoing due to the incursion of these tribes. The history of this period, as revealed in the Nāṭya Śāstra, shows no struggle for supremacy as it has been in the age of Patañjali. But references to political turmoils in Bharata seem to suggest that the struggle for attaining supremacy had either been continuing among the states of ancient India at that time, or, that the text of the Nāṭya Śāstra had preserved the memories of a struggle for supremacy between a number of kings of a still remote age. India, before the compilation of the Nāṭya Śāstra, was divided into a large number of states, of whom अन्ध्र, द्रविड or द्रमिल and काशी-कोशल deserve more than a passing notice. Kāśī and Kośala are mentioned together in the context of the description of the colours of the different classes of tribes. Although Kāśi and Kośala are known to be two different states, the majority of the manuscripts of the text of NS. read the two in conjunction i.e. as काशी-कोशला:[1]. Kāśī and Kośala were originally two different countries each vying with the other for supremacy. The name of Kāśī occurs in the Vedas and in the Brāhmaṇas[2]. Kośala has been named by Pāṇini[3] and it is mentioned along with Kāśī in the महाभाष्य. The tradition of the Purāṇa records Divodāsa as a king of Kāśī. The ब्रह्माण्डपुराण refers to the abandonment of Kāśī (III.67. 26-31). The history of a long-drawn battle between the kings of Kāśi and the Haihayas is recorded in the Vāyu Purāṇa. It seems that Kāśī was the older kingdom and it probably established its suzerainty over the adjoining kingdoms. The story of the internecine strife between the two kingdoms Kāśi and Kośala is told in the Jātaka tales and in the Buddhist Literature. One such tale[4] avers that the king of Kośala was defeated in battle by the king of Kāśī. He went into exile, but, seeing the distress of a merchant who was moving towards Kośala to seek refuge with the generous ruler of Kośala,—was moved to pity and took the merchant to the court of the king of Kāśī in order to request the lord of Kāśi to offer the amount of money fixed as reward for the capture of himself to the distressed merchant. A conciliation then took place and the territory of the king of Kośala was returned back to him. Whatever might be its apparent form, the story hints at the prominence that the kingdom of Kāśī gained in the tussle between these two rival kingdoms. Dr. H. C. Roy Choudhury remarked that the two kingdoms coalesced in the long run to form one great territory named काशी-कोशल[5]. The Nāṭya Śāstra preserves an echo of the same tradition which once counted काशी and कोशल as one territory, and the reference here only brings to light the fact that even in the age of the final compilation of the Nāṭya Śāstra काशी and कोशल formed one great principality. The remarks made by V. A. Smith may be quoted in this connection—"In the 6th century B.C. Kośala appears to have occupied the rank afterwards attained by

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[1] N.S. Vol III. ch XXI. verses 190-112. G.O.S.

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[2] Ved, Index II. 116 n, Kaus. Br. XXVI. 5. Gopatha Br. 1. 195.

[3] Pāṇini IV. 1. 171. Mahābhāṣya 1. 3. 35.

[4] Jātaka No. 51.

[5] Political History of Ancient India, pp. 132, 162.

Magadha, and to have enjoyed precedence as the premier state of upper India. It is therefore mentioned as often as the rival power. At the beginning of the historical period, the smaller kingdom of Kāśi or Benaras, apparently had lost its independence, and had been annexed by Kośala with which its fortunes were indissolubly bound up. The lesser state owes its fame in the ancient books not only to its connection with its powerful neighbour, but also to its being one of the most sacred spot in Buddhist Church history[6]".

The Nāṭya Śāstra refers to the countries अन्ध्र and महाराष्ट्र in conjunction. But the name अन्ध्रमहाराष्ट्र is difficult to explain because no country bearing the name अन्ध्रमहाराष्ट्र occurs in ancient geography of India[7]. Early history shows that the name of the Andhra nation is very old, being mentioned for the first time in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa[8]. Later on, the Jātakas, the Dharmasūtras and the Nikāya texts frequently referred to the Andhras. The Mahābhārata contains reference to the Andhras[9]. The Andhras attained the peak of glory and prosperity during the rule of the Sātavāhana kings, especially during the reign of Rājā Yajña Śrī Śātakarṇī. The territory comprising of the Andhra people extended over the entire Gadāvarī valley watered by its tributaries, and during the rule of Śātakarṇī it became virtually the paramount power in India. The tract of land known by the term महाराष्ट्र was included within the territorial boundary of the Andhra kingdom. The Andhras in Aśoka's time probably occupied the coastal region between the Kṛṣṇā and the Godāvarī[10]. Since some of the Purāṇas described the first Andhra king as "अन्ध्रजातीय"—the ascendancy of the Andhras began with Śimuka the first Andhra king in *c.* 30 B.C.[11] The

[6] Early History of India, pp. 31-33.

[7] N.S. Vol II, ch XIII. verses 40-41.

[8] Ait. Br. 7. 18.

[9] Mbh. जरासन्धवधपर्व, उद्योगपर्व, शान्तिपर्व

[10] Political History of Ancient India, Foot Note No. 3 p. 258.

[11] Age of Imperial Unity, pp. 195-198.

reference of the Hāthigumphā inscription also testifies to this. The author of the Sūttanipāta commentary (5th century A.D.) refers to a tradition which alludes to the Aśmaka and Mūlaka countries as Andhaka rājyas (*cf.* Paramatthajotikā II. p. 587). In the edicts[12] of Aśoka the Andhras are associated with the Pulindas.

The उद्योगपर्व[13] of the Mahābhārata mentions the Andhras with the Dramīdas. In the Nālanda plate of देवपालदेव[14] मेद, अन्ध्रक, and चाण्डाल are spoken as the lowest castes. But these references only help to establish the identity of the अन्ध्र kingdom as separated from the Mahārāṣṭra territory.[15] Andhra and Mahārāṣṭra never merged to form one unified territory. The earliest available reference to महाराष्ट्र can be found in *c.* 245 B.C. when Aśoka sent the Buddhist missionary महाधर्म्मरक्षित to Mahārāṣṭra. During Aśoka's reign the country was called Mahāraṭṭha[14]. At the time of Buddha it came to be termed as Aśmaka. The name महाराष्ट्र (a great territory) was known from the age of Aśoka but in the available early records of the Sātavāhanas we do not come across any reference to महाराष्ट्र The Cuṭu Śātakarṇis were intimately related to the Mahārathis. Mahārāṣṭra seems to be a later and altered denomination of the older Rāṣṭrikas. The name Rāṣṭrika occurs in the inscriptions of the 2nd cent. A.D. and महाराष्ट्र finds frequent mention in the inscriptions, coins and grants of a later period. It is also significant to note that the importance of Mahārāṣṭrī Prākṛt came to be known increasingly from the 1st cent. B.C. The lyric गाथासप्तशती was composed during this period.[16] The Andhra kings attained the highest pinnacle of glory sometime between 1st cent. B.C. and 2nd cent. A.D. and we are thus on the way to suggest that the word अन्ध्र-महाराष्ट्र refers to a phase of Indian history when the Sātavāhana rulers of the Andhra kingdom had established their domination over a large part of southern India including the महाराष्ट्र kingdom and had become so powerful as to designate the territory occupied by them as "the great territory of the Andhras (अन्ध्र-महाराष्ट्र)". Though conjectural, this contention admirably synchronises with the early rise of the Andhras under Gautamīputra Śātakarṇī and others when the territory known as राष्ट्रिक was alive in the annals of Indian history. महाराष्ट्र was thus, in all probability, a later development of the early kingdom of the Rāṣṭrikas.

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[12] Rock Edict 13.

[13] 160, 103.

[14] Epigraphica Indica, vol. XVII. p. 321. Also ref. Dr. Geiger's Mahāvaṃśa. Ch. xii, p, 85.

[15] One scheduled Caste tribe in Orissa is yet named as Ādi-Andhra (Sch. Castes. Organisation Report 1936).

[16] Gāthā Śaptaśatī ed. by R. G. Basak.

But the greatest importance of the Nāṭya Śāstra consists not only in furnishing us with an elaborate dissertation on the principles of ancient Hindu dramaturgy but in supplying valuable information regarding the possible dates of the intrusion of the several foreign tribes शक, वाह्लीक, पह्लव, यवन, खस and the establishment of their settlements in the North-western border of India. What strikingly engages our attention is the absence of the Hūṇas among the intruding tribes. Had the Hūṇas ever come within the territorial boundaries of India, their racial characteristics and linguistic peculiarities would not have escaped the notice of the composers of the Nāṭya Śāstra. The word यवन, as used in the Nāṭya Śāstra, is a generic nomenclature of all foreign tribes and races. It may be a variant of योन, (used in the Aśokan edicts) being a reference to the Parso-Greeks and their descendants. The continued attacks of the Śakas and other Parso-Greek tribes have been pointed out by Patañjali.[17] But nowhere in the Nāṭya Śāstra do we come across a reference to the Hūṇas who had probably set their feet in Indian soil in the 1st cent. B.C. The Nāṭya Śāstra therefore contains strata which were perhaps compiled at a time when the intrusion of the Hūṇas had not turned to be a menace to India's political integrity and culture.

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[17] अरुणद् यवनो साकेतम्

The reference to the Pahlvas as noted in—

"शकाश्च यवनाश्चैव पह्लवा वाह्लिकाश्च ते ।
प्रायेण गौराः कर्त्तव्या उत्तरां ये श्रिता दिशम् ॥" (N.S. xxi. 110), is in fact a reference to the Parthians who annexed parts of Punjab in the 1st cent. A.D. The invasion of the foreign tribes began at a time when the strong hand of king Aśoka which could repel thousands of invaders had been withdrawn after Aśoka's death in 232 B.C. The invasion continued for several hundreds of years. And as the Nāṭya Śāstra speaks of the changes in language and culture that took place in the social life of India since the contact with the foreign tribes a good deal of time must have passed before the transformations could be recorded. Orosius remarked that Mithradates (c. 171—138 B.C.) supplanted the power of Eukratides and of the Scythians in the 1st/2nd century B.C. and probably conquered parts of Punjab and Sind. Isidore of Charax who lived during the reign of Phraates IV between 40 and 20 B.C. remarked that the territorial limits of the Parthian kingdom did not go beyond Herat, Farah, and Kāndāhar. From the Takhat-i-Bāhī inscription it can be ascertained that the great Parthian King Gondophernes ruled in 47 A.D. and had conquered large areas in Ḳabul and in the Lower Indus Valley. Periplus also refers to the ousting of the Śaka rule in c 60 A.D. by the Parthians in the Kabul region.[18] These landmarks in ancient history only point to stray dates connected with certain events,—but the Nāṭya Śāstra records the whole process of the change in culture and civilization. The complexion of these tribes was generally fair (प्रायेण गौराः) and it is almost certain that the Parthians, Bactrians, and the Śakas were comfortably settled in the Northern and North-western region of India when greater parts of the Nāṭya Śāstra were compiled together. The interpretation of the expression उत्तरां ये श्रिता दिशम् (variant उत्तरां पश्चिमां श्रितम्) acquires further importance in this context. The Kuṣāṇas, Śakas and the Parthians came from

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[18] Indian Antiquary 3. 309. Corpus Inscr II. 1. XLVI.

the Northern direction while the Greeks and the Partho-Scythian Greeks came mostly from the North-western direction. Though no hard and fast division like this can be made, yet the modification in language and dialect noted in the Nāṭya Śāstra points to the necessity of such demarcation.

Further reference to the Vālhīkas, Śakas, and other tribes may be found in (NS XIII. 49) the verse—"वाह्लीकाः शाकलाश्चैव मद्रकौशीनरास्तथा। हिमवत्संश्रिता ये तु गङ्गायाश्चोत्तरां दिशम् ॥". Palhavas and Vālhīkas refer to the Yavanas living in Parthia (Khurāsan and the adjoining region to the South East of the Caspian Sea) and Bactria (district round Balkh.—ancient Bāhlīka, in north Afghanistan beyond the Hindukush), the two districts coming under the former Selukidan empire.[19] Bālhi is the name of a place in Central Asia being referred to in the Rāmāyaṇa.[20] The Atharvaveda and some other texts speak of the Bālhīka tribe.[21] Bālhi doubtlessly refers to Balkh or Bactria in the Oxus valley. The Mahābhārata also speaks of the Vālhīkas. Thus it may be seen that the Vālhīkas were entrenched in the Indian soil long before the compilation of the Nāṭyaśāstra, and Bactria (the home of the Vālhīka people) and Parthia came under the independent rule of two chiefs, Diodotus the Greek governor and a native named Arsaces sometime in 260-240 B.C. Antiochus the Great (c 223-187 B.C.) recognised their sovereignty. Among the rulers of Bactria (Vālkh) Menander and Demetrius conquered large parts of India.[22] Strabo (c. 54 B.C.—24 A.D.) remarked though rather vaguely that the Bactrians conquered not only Patalene (the Sindhu delta) but also the kingdoms of Saraostos (Surāṣṭra) and Sigerdis (probably Cutch).[23] They extended their sway as far as the Seres (probably the land of the Chinese and Tibetans in central India) and the Phryni (probably a central Indian tribe). The युगपुराण section of the Garga Saṁhitā speaks of the invasion of the Yavanas against साकेत, पाञ्चाल, मथुरा and कुसुमपुर after the reign of Maurya Śāliśuka (*c.* 200 B.C.) who was 2nd in descent from Aśoka and 3rd from Bṛhadratha. It becomes clear therefore that before the final composition of the Nāṭya Śāstra the Śakas, Yavanas, Parthians, and the Bactrian Greeks had conquered parts of North-western India and had even marched as far as Mathurā and Ayodhyā. This had caused considerable amount of upheaval in the linguistic set up of the country as well as in the social structure, and this new problem necessitated the gradual absorption of the invading foreigners into the fold of the Aryan society. That the process of the fusion of the Aryan and non-Aryan cultures in the Indus valley is traceable in the Nāṭya Śāstra, may well be brought home to us if we allow a separate and exhaustive treatment to the history of the Śakas and to Śaka-ethnology and Śaka-culture. Pargitar tried to show that the Śakas were not Aryan by origin and that they had lived before the age of the Bharata war[24], basing his hypothesis on the Paurāṇic story of *Sagara's* fight with the Śakas. But the Mahābhārata speaks of शकद्वीप before the great war of *Kurukṣetra.* Manu (X.43-44) knew that many of the tribes called Śakas, Yavanas etc. spoke the Mleccha languages along with the language of the Aryans (म्लेच्छाश्चार्यवाचः सर्वे ते दस्यवः स्मृताः). The Śakas are said to be bearing long and flowing beards in the द्रोणपर्व (119. 45-46). Pāṇini must have known the Śakas not in Seistan but in their original home in Central Asia.[25] The Śakas came to India sometime in the 1st cent. B.C. when they occupied Kapiśā or Ki pin.[26] Inscriptions at Mathurā and Nasik show that the Śakas brought within their dominion even the countries lying as far as the Yamuna in the East and the Godāvarī in the South and even defeated the "Mitras" of Mathurā and the Sātavāhanas of Paithan.[27] The reference made by Isidore of

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[19] Political History of Ancient India, pp. 317-318.

[20] Rāmāyaṇa VII. 103, verses 21-22.

[21] Ath. Veda V. 22. 4-8.

[22] Political History of Ancient India, p. 379.

[23] Ibid 380-381.

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[24] J.R.A.S. 1916.

[25] India as known to Pāṇini.

[26] Dr. Herrmann, I.R.A.S. 1913, 1058x-Gandhāra.

[27] The Nagārjunikoṇḍā Inscr, refers to a sāka named Moda—Ep. Ind. XX. 37. This points to the extension of Śaka influence in the South and also to the existence of Śaka settlements,

Charax (as noted before) shows that parts of the lower Indus valley, Cutch and parts of western India had been conquered by the Śakas of western Śakasthāna. Until now it has not been conclusively proved by inscriptional and numismatic evidences whether the Punjab satraps or the satraps at Mathurā extended their sway upto Godāvarī, but lesser important evidences vouched by coins and by the contemporary Sanskrit texts go to prove that the Śakas extended their influence in the South as early as the 1st cent. A.D. during the reign of the North Indian satraps, the Punjab satraps, and the satraps of Mathurā. Although the वायुपुराण (46. 105-21) restricts the habitation of the Yavanas, Śakas, Daradas, Tuṣāras and Pahlavas to the Udīchya country, the Nāṭyaśāstra in the following passages seems to have admitted the existence of Śaka settlements in Northern, Central and even in Southern India. The text of the Nāṭyaśāstra runs as:—

"पाञ्चालाः शौरसेनाश्च काश्मीरा हस्तिनापुराः ।
वाह्लीकाः शाकलाश्चैव[28] मद्रकौशीनरास्तथा ॥
हिमवत् संश्रिता ये तु गङ्गायाश्चोत्तरां दिशम् ।
ये श्रिता वै जनपदास्तेषु पाञ्चालमध्यमा ॥"
(NS. XIII. 48-50)

...शकाराभीरचाण्डाल शवरद्रमिलान्ध्रजाः ।
हीना वनेचराणां च विभाषा नाटके स्मृता ॥...
...शकारघोषकादीनां तत्स्वभावश्च योगणः ।
शकारभाषा योक्तव्या चाण्डालीपुल्कसादिषु ॥
(NS. XVIII. 50-54)

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[28] Variants शाककाः and शाल्वकाः Though the text of the NS. accepts the reading शाकलाः the importance of the other two variant cannot be ignored. Some think that शाकलाः has no reference to the sākas, but it is a variant of the word शाल्वकाः noted here. The Purāṇas refer to the शाल्वक country (शाल्वाः शाकलवासिनः). But there also the relation between शाल्व and शाकल is admitted. Śākala may be the ancient nomenclature of the modern province शियालकोट which was once a hot bed of political activities of numerous foreign tribes.

In the former quotation the पाञ्चालमध्यमा usage has been ascribed to people residing on the North of the river Ganges. The Northern people here includes the Śākala region,—which, in all probability refers to a settlement of the Śakas. The word शाकल may be a derivative of the word शक, and the variant शाकका: also points to the inherent strength of such a presumption. It has been stated elsewhere that the Śākas, among other tribes, were firmly settled on the North and North-western region of India (उत्तरां पश्चिमां श्रितम्). The अभिनवभारती remarks (on NS.XII.147)—"शकारवहुला भाषा यस्य स शकारः। शकारोपलक्षित शकादिजनपदवासीत्यन्ये, यद्वक्ष्यते शकाराभीरचराडाल (para 2 above) इत्यादि"। Abhinavagupta seems to have admitted that the speech of the शकार is characterised by the preponderance of the use of the sibilants. He further remarks that the word शकार contains a hint to the people residing in the land of the Śākas. Bharata remarked (on NS.XVII. 50. Vol II) that the language used by the शकार, आभीर, चाराडाल, शवर and the द्रमिल classes of people had to be recognised as विभाषा i.e. अपभ्रंश Bharata also remarked that of the seven languages recognised for use in dramatic performances the non-Aryan languages were the वाह्लीक and खस languages. The शकारी dialect had been prescribed for use only by[29] शकार, घोषक (and similar other races), चाराडाल and पुल्कस. Śakāra was entitled to use the अपभ्रंश dialect which indicated that Śakāra or the people of the community to which Śakāra belonged were unable to use Sanskrit properly. The saying of the महाभाष्य "म्लेच्छो ह वा एष यदपशब्दः" bears testimony to this observation. Hence शकारी भाषा was doubtlessly a non-Aryan (and non-Sanskritic) language. Śakāra was never known to be an Aryan.[30] So his association with the non-Aryan elements is obvious. It took pretty long time for the Śaka people to master the Sanskrit language;

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[29] शकारघोषकादीनां ततस्वभावश्च यो गणः। शकारभाषा योक्तव्या चाराडाली पुल्कसादिषु ॥ (N.S. vol. II. XXVII. 54).

[30] "न चार्य्यदेशजातिः शकारः कश्चित प्रसिद्धः...(अभिनवभारती पृः १६३ Vol. II)."

consequently the language used by them was susceptible to all sorts of errors and mistakes which, as a rule, earned for their language the denomination of अपशब्द or अपभ्रंश शब्द. Abhinavagupta remarked elsewhere (p. 377 vol II. NS.) 'शकारवहुला भाषा शकारभाषा' Such an assumption gains further ground from Bharata's suggestion "वाह्लीकभाषोदीच्यानां खसानाञ्च स्वदेशजा" where he admits the prevalence of the वाह्लीक and खस language in Northern India. The suffix आरक् in शकारी is added by Pāṇini's rule आरक् उदीच्याम् so शकारी can rightly be taken to be a language of the Śakas settled in Northern India. Abhinavagupta's[31] remark 'हीनाशयः उत्तमपदेऽभिरोपितः शकार इत्यन्ये' helps us to substantiate the conjecture regarding the relationship between the शक people and the शकार. The Śaka people were originally nomads with uncultured habits, but circumstance helped them to acquire a prominent position in India's political life. Considerably long period of time passed before the mingling of the Śaka and Hindu cultures took place, and the Śaka rulers and high dignitaries had to face stiff opposition from the Hindu mass in every walk of life. हीनाशय may thus refer to the nomadic character and rapacious habits of the Śaka people. The bizarre dress and queer utterances of Śakāra are imagined possibly to express the feeling of hatred that the people of India harboured against the Śakas. We are therefore inclined to give full marks to the opinion of अभिनवगुप्त that Śakāra is a symbol of the Śaka speaking people. No direct evidence of the language used by the Śaka people is available to us. But the coins of Mouses (e. 60-50 B.C.) and other Scythian and Śaka kings betray the influence of the suffix-*si* in the languages used.[32] With regard to the use of the sibilant 'श' in the so called प्राच्य language and the affinity which it bears with the old Indo-Aryan language the following remark of Dr. Grierson is worth quoting—

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[31] page 161. G.O.S. N. S. Vol II.

[32] Vide, Coins of Indo Scythians (Numismatic Chronicle 1888, 1889, 1890-1892). Also, Dr. Thomas's article where lived the śakas (Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal 1906, p. 204).

"The Eastern Prācya speech, or Māgadhī properly so called, seems to have developed out of the Prācya dialect. Its special characteristics ś' for all the sibilants of O.I.A. might have developed as a dialectal variation of प्राच्य as early as the late O.I.A. period,—but it is recorded first in the Śutanuka inscription, contemporaneous with the Aśokan documents,...Probably the ś pronunciation was regarded as vulgar, and hence the court dialect of the Aśokan inscriptions does not notice it. This seems to be borne out by the usage in the Sanskrit dramas where the ś dialects are reserved for the lowest classes. The drama fragments from Central Asia give specimens of a Prākṛt with this peculiarity." (pp. 58-59. Linguistic Survey of India. vol VIII. Part II) The Māgadhī which is current in the Eastern part of North India retains some characteristics ś-for ś ṣ s noticed from very early period. And it would not at all be unreasonable if we think that the Śakas used some form of Māgadhi current in Northern India now lost to us. Prof. Sudhakara Chattopadhyaya suggests that the Śakas originally used the Vālhīka bhāṣā i.e. a branch of the Iranian tongue, but after they settled in India, they became staunch supporters of the Sanskrit language. In any way, the Nāṭya Śāstra proves beyond doubt that the Śakas used some language closely related to Sanskrit.[33]

We have tried so far to form some idea of the political structure of India in the age of Bharata from the references to the invading foreign tribes scattered all over the text of the Nāṭya Śāstra. But the evidence regarding the political history of the period is so meagre that we have only to echo the words of Prof. Rapson—"in our attempt to reconstruct the mosaic of ancient Indian history from the few pieces which have as yet been found, we can do little more than define the limits of possible hypothesis in this instance." The unveiling of the dark curtain of the history of this period requires steady analysis for years to come.

DILEEP KUMAR KANJILAL

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[33] Śakas in India, pp. 62-63.

Did the Guptas Rule over Orissa ?

It is said by some scholars[1] that Orissa was included in the Gupta Empire. The main basis of their arguments in favour of the above theory is the frequent use of the Gupta era in some of the copper plate grants discovered in different parts of Orissa.[2] But it should be observed that, although some of the inscriptions of Kaliṅga are dated in the Gupta Era neither their donors acknowledged the suzerainty of the Imperial Guptas nor their territories were annexed to the Gupta Empire.

We know definitely from the Allāhābād Pillar Inscription that Samudra Gupta Vyāghraparākrama, the illustrious son of Candra Gupta I in the course of his Deccan expedition (Dakṣiṇāpatha) defeated certain kings. The following are the names of the vanquished kings and their localities :—

"………Kauśalaka Mahendra-Mahākāntāraka Vyāghrarāja Kaurālaka-Manṭarāja-Paiṣṭhapuraka Mahendragiri Kauṭṭuraka-Svāmīdutta-Airaṇḍapallaka - Damana - Kāñcheyaka Vishṇūgopa Avamuktaka-Nīlarāja-Vaiṅgeyaka Hastivarman-Pālakkak-Ograsena Daivarāṣṭraka Kuvera-Kaustholapuraka-Dhañjaya Prabhṛiti-Sarva Dakshiṇāpatha Rāja…"[3]

Out of the above defeated kings at least seven ruled over the different regions of Orissa. They are as follows :—

Vyāghrarāja of Mahākāntāra: Mahākāntāra has been identified with the Jaypore forest tracts in the Korāput District of Orissa, which is refered to as Mahāvana, a synonym of Mahākāntāra in an old Inscription.[4]

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[1] D. C. Sircar, *IHQ.*, Vol. XXVI No. I, pp. 76 ff. 1952; S. N. Rajguru, *OHRJ.*, 1952.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 3.

[3] *CII.*, vol. III, p. 7.

[4] *JAHRS.*. vol. I, p. 228.

Paiṣṭhapuraka Mahendragiri-Kauṭṭuraka Svāmīdutta: The interpretation of the expression "Paiṣṭhapuraka Mahendragiri-Kauṭṭuraka Svāmīdutta" has been contradicted by a number of epigraphists and antiquarians. Thus Dr. Fleet[5] has interpreted it as Mahendragiri of Piṣṭhapura and Svāmīdutta of Koṭṭura. But the interpretation is given by Dr. Bhandarkar[6] 'as Mahendragiri, the king of Piṣṭhapura and Svāmidutta, the king of Koṭṭura'. Piṣṭhapura is identified with modern Piṭhāpuraṁ in the Godāvari District (A.P.) and Koṭṭura is identified with modern Koṭhur.

Kuvera of Devarāṣṭra: Prof. Dubreuil[7] and Dr. R. C. Majumdar[8] have located Devarāṣṭra in the Vizag District. Devapura was its capital.

Damana of Eraṇḍapalla: Dubreuil[9] has identified Eraṇḍapalla with Eraṇḍapali," a town probably near Chicacole." Dubreuil has located it in the Ganjam District.

Manṭarāja of Kaurāla: Kaurāla may be the same as Kolāulapura pattana or Kokalāvalapurapattana found in the records of the Eastern Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga and identified with the modern town of Kulāḍa, the birth place of Kavisamrāṭ Upendrabhañja in the Ghumsar Taluk of Ganjam District.[10]

Although Samudragupta conquered the above territories he did not annex them to his empire. From the expression 'Grahaṇa Mokshānugraha'[11] it is clear that he liberated the above kingdoms which comprised ancient Kaliṅga along with other states of Dakṣiṇāpatha and reinstated their kings. So this does not testify to the effective control of the

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[5] *CII.*, vol. III, p. 7, Note 2.

[6] Please see *IHQ.*, vol. I, p. 252; Aiyangar Comm. Vol., p. 155; *IC.*, II, p. 761-62 and *IC.*, III, p. 230.

[7] A. H. D., 160.

[8] *A new History of the Indian People*, vol. VI, p. 148.

[9] *Ancient History of the Deccan*, pp. 58-61.

[10] *Inscriptions of Orissa*, vol. I, Part II, pp. 18-45.

[11] A. P. I.

Imperial Guptas at the time of Samudragupta in Kaliṅga. Neither the Gupta inscriptions nor any other contemporary inscription, refer to an invasion by any of the successors of Samudragupta to Orissa. In the absence of any historical records it cannot be established that Kaliṅga was included in the Gupta Empire.

After Samudragupta the Māṭharas rose into prominence in Kaliṅga. They ruled up to C. 500 A.D. from Mahānadi to the North of Godāvari and some time even up to Krishṇā in the South.[12] None of the kings of this dynasty is known to be under the suzerainty of the Gupta emperors. The Māṭharas have been mentioned in their inscriptions as very powerful.

Dr. Sircar[13] on the basis of the Sumaṇḍaḷa copper plate inscription of the time of Pṛithvīvigraha dated in G. E. 250-(250+319=569-70 A.D.) is inclined to prove that Orissa at that time was under the Imperial Guptas. The Sumaṇḍaḷa Inscription runs as follows:

"......Vartamāna Gupta Rājya Varaṣa Satadvaye Pañchāsaduttare-Kaliṅga Rāṣṭraṁ Anuśāsita Śrī Pṛithvīvigraha-Bhaṭṭāraka Tatpādānudhyāta Padmakholiyam Mahārājobhayānvyo-Bappadevyam Utpanna Tanuḥ Sahasrarasmi pādabhakto Mahārāja Dharmarāja. ."[14]

The word 'Vartamāna' in the above quoted lines is explained by Dr. Sircar in the sense of existing whereas it actually conveys the sense of 'Pravartamāna', 'Promulgated.' Thus the above expression means that in 250 years (of the era) that was promulgated in the Gupta Rājya, and not in 250 years when the Gupta Rājya was in existence, as Dr. Sircar wants to make us belief.

In the Kaṇāsa copper plate of Lokavigraha[15] of the same Vigraha family, the word Pravartamāna has been inserted in place of Vartamāna. The inscription refers to the Gupta year 280 (599 A.D.). The date portion of the inscription runs as follows:

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[12] INSC. of Orissa, vol. I, part II, pp 58-63; E. I. vol. XII, pp 1-3.

[13] *EI.*, xxviii, pp. 79-85.

[14] *Inscriptions of Orissa*, vol. I, Part II, pp. 113-114.

[15] *JKHRS.*, vol. iii, pp. 261-66 ff; *EI.*, vol. xxviii, p. 331.

"......Pravartamāna Gupta Rā(ja) Saṁvatsare A(śi)tyuttara Sata(dva)ye......". This clearly means that 'in 280 years of the Era promulgated in the Gupta Rājya' and it does not convey any sense of existence of the Gupta kingdom in the year 280 or 599-600 A.D.

The Gupta empire ceased to exist in India by the middle of 600 A.D. Prof. H.C. Roychaudhuri[16] refers to a tradition recorded in the Harivaṁśa by Jinasena. The tradition reveals that the Guptas ruled for 231 years and according to this tradition the Gupta suzerainty ended in 550 A.D.

"Guptānām Ca Śatadvayam
Ekatriṁsach Ca Varshāṇi
Kāla-Vidabhiruda Hritam"[17]

Besides the 'Trīloka-prajñāpati', a Jain work by Jadivasaha contains a tradition regarding the duration of the Gupta rule. It runs as follows:—

"Tato Gutta Tanam Rajje Donisayani Igitisa",[18] that is the Guptas ruled for 231 years.

The last known Gupta record is the Damodarpur Copper Plate Inscription dated in the Gupta year 224 corresponding to 543-A.D.[19]

The Harha Inscription[20] of the time of Bhīma Śrī Iśāna-Varman dated in Saṁvat 611 (553 A.D. reveals that the very heart of the Gupta empire was under the Maukharis by that time. This is corroborated by the Deo Varṇārk inscription[21] which refers to the rule of Sarvavarman and Avantivarman, the son and the grandson of Iśānavarman respectively over Magadh region. Besides it also refers to the grant of a village, Vārunika, made by Avantivarman in the Magadh region.

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[16] PHAI, 1950, pp. 626 ff.
[17] Harivaṃśa, Chap. 60.
[18] *Journal of Or. Inst.*, vol. iii, pp. 296-97, stanza 1608.
[19] *Sel. Insc.*, pp. 337 ff, *EI.*, xv, p. 142.
[20] *EI.*, IV, pp. 110-121.
[21] *CII.*, vol. III, p. 215 ff.

The Eran inscription[22] issued by the Hūṇa king Toramāṇa in his first regnal year (c. 500-15 A.D.) and the Gwalior inscription[23] of the Hūṇa king Mihirakula (C. 515-35 A.D.), the son and successor of Toramāṇa, show that both East and West Malwa no longer formed parts of the Gupta Empire. The above references in the inscriptions conclusively prove that the mighty fabric of the great Gupta empire covering wide areas of Northern India, disintegrated by the middle of the 6th century A.D. In such a case the theory of Dr. Sircar that Orissa was included in the Gupta empire (on the basis of the reference to the Gupta Era in the Sumaṇḍala and the Kaṇāsa plates) cannot be accepted.

In order to explain his point of view that the Gupta Empire was in existence as late as 569-70 A.D. Dr. Sircar renders the Sumaṇḍala Copper Plate Inscription as follows: —

"The present inscription indicating the continuity of the Imperial Gupta rule as late as A.D. 569 thus seems to suggest that even after the disintegration of the empire, there were some members of the family who claimed the status of their imperial predecessors, whether their position was nominal like that of James III of England or of the Mughal emperor Shah Alam and his successors can hardly be determined in the present state of our knowledge. There is, however, no doubt that till A.D. 569 Viceroys like Pṛithvī-vigraha Bhaṭṭāraka of Kaliṅga continued their allegience to the Gupta emperor. The word Bhaṭṭāraka attached to Pṛthvīvigraha's name may suggest that he ruled practically as an independent monarch; but he did so without officially throwing off the yoke of the Guptas. It is possible that he had blood-relationship with the Guptas and was eager to display it to improve his own case against those of their other rival rulers of the country."[24]

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[22] *Ibid.*, pp. 396 ff.

[23] *Ibid.*, pp. 440 ff.

The Sumaṇḍala copper plate was issued by Mahārāja Dharmarāja, a feudatory of Pṛithvīvigraha who is indicated in the inscriptions as an independent ruler belonging to the Vigraha family of Kaliṅga. Nowhere he has been stated as a Viceroy of the Gupta emperor, or that he had blood relationship with the Guptas. None of the epigraphic or the literary sources refer to this fact. Besides, had he been a scion of the Gupta family, he would have mentioned it as in vogue with the kings and the feudatories in ancient India.

The inference regarding the Viceroyalty of the Guptas cannot stand because nowhere in India a Gupta emperor was existing in 569-70 A.D. The Gupta Era started in 319-20 A.D. was accepted in course of time as one of the standard eras in India and it is found to be in vogue long after the decay of the Gupta Rule in India.

So the use of the Gupta Era in these inscriptions does not mean Gupta rule.

It is evident that like other states of Dakshiṇāpatha (South India) Kaliṅga did not form a part of Samudra Gupta's empire. The result of his invasion broke down the petty principalities and paved the way for political unity under the hegemony of the Māṭharas.

Dr. Sircar further supports his theory by the Peddāḍugam plates of king Satrudāman of Giri Kaliṅga in C. 500 A.D. from his headquarters at Siṁhapura identified with modern Singupiram near Srikakulam. The inscription declares him as a subordinate of one Bhaṭṭāraka (Bhaṭṭāraka-pāda Parigṛihita) and Dr. Sircar assumes that the spithet Bhaṭṭāraka in the 4th and 5th century A.D. was used by the feudatories of the Guptas in reference to their imperial overlord.[25] It may be pointed out that the epithet Bhaṭṭāraka was not a monopoly of the imperial Gupta rulers during the period mentioned above. Saktivarman, the Māṭhara king of Kaliṅga (c. 400-420 A.D.) referred to as Śakti Bhaṭṭāraka in the Andhaveram copper plate inscription[26] of his son Ananta Śakti Varman.

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[24] *EI.*, vol. XXVIII, pp. 81-82.

The Nala king Arthapatī who ruled over Bastar Korāput region in c. 465-75 A.D. is called Śrī Mahārāja Arthapati Bhaṭṭāraka both in the Kesaribeḍa[27] and Riṭhapur copper plate grants. Pṛithvīvigraha, the ruler of Kaliṅga in 570 A.D. is thus declared as a Bhaṭṭāraka in the Sumaṇḍala copper plate grant and there is no cogent reason to believe that this epithet was borne by the Gupta monarchs.

Besides, it is stated by Dr. Sircar[28] that Lokavigraha Bhaṭṭāraka of the Kaṇāśa plate was an independent monarch. He has used the Gupta era in his inscription. He has also assumed the title of Bhaṭṭāraka. So Dr. Sircar contradicts his own statement that Bhaṭṭāraka was a title used only by the feudatories of the imperial Guptas. But as we have seen above Loka Vigraha was not a feudatory of the imperial Guptas. So it can be said categorically that Bhaṭṭāraka was not a title exclusively and specifically used by the imperial Guptas or later Guptas or even their feudatories. Independent kings or their feudatories also used this title.

Mahārāja Satrudāman of the Peddāḍugam grant was very likely the feudatory of the Māṭhara king Śaktivarman of Kaliṅga who was ruling over the territory extending from the Mahānadi to the Krishṇa from his headquarters Pisṭhapura during the first quarter of the 5th century A.D. Further the Ganjam plates[29] of Mādhavarāja II, the son of Ayaṣohita and grandson of Madhavarāja of the Śailodbhava dynasty is dated in the Gupta Era 300. The date portion runs as follows:—

"...Chaturdadhi Salila Bichi Mekhalā Nalināyāng Sadbipagiri-

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[25] *JIH.*, XXXIV, p. 283.

[26] *EI.*, XXVIII, pp. 175-79.; Ananta Śaktivarman himself had a title of Bappa Bhaṭṭāraka *Ibid.*, pp. 225-35.

[27] *EI.*, XXVIII, pp. 12-16.; E. I. XIX, pp., 100-104.

[28] *JIH.*, XXXIV, p. 284.

[29] *E I.*, VI, 143-6 ff.

pattanabatyam Vasundhārāyām Gauptabde Varṣa Śatatraye Vartamāne......".

In the above quoted lines we find a reference to the Gupta year 300 (619-20 A.D.). If we accept the view of Dr. Sircar that the usage of Gupta Era means Gupta rule then the conclusion would be that Mādhavarāja II, the donor of the above grant in the Koṅgoda Maṇḍala, was a Gupta feudatory. It has been specifically mentioned in the above inscription that Mahārāja Śaśāṅka was the overlord of Mādhavarāja II."... Mahārājādhiraja Śrī Śaśāṅka Rājye Śāśita..."(i). Dr. Hultzsch translated it as "...Mahārājādhirāja, the glorious Śaśāṅka ruling over the earth surrounded by the griddle of the waves of the water of the four oceans, together with the islands, mountains, and cities from the victorious Koṅgoda near the bank of the Sālimā river (Sāliā?) in the present Puri District..."

Thus it shows that Śaśāṅka of this inscription was a great king and he can be very safely identified with the Śaśāṅka of Karṇaśuvarṇa, whose name is mentioned in the Si-Yu-Ki and also in Bāṇa's Harṣacarita. Besides this date also includes the reign period of Śaśāṅka. So Śaśāṇka cannot be a Gupta king. So the use of the Gupta year 300 also does not mean Gupta rule in Koṅgoda. Koṅgoda was under Śaśāṅka, being the overlord of Mādhavarāja II, as we have seen in the inscription. Hence although the inscription is dated in the Gupta era 300 it can never mean Gupta rule.

Again we know that Kaniṣka of the Kuṣāṇa family was the founder of the Śaka Era (78 A.D.) and we are still using the Śakābda ; it is only a standard era adopted by the Indians. Similarly the Gupta Era was also used by some kings and their feudatories in ancient India for chronological convenience and that it was a standard era.

Some scholars[30] have also argued that the find of five gold coins of the Guptas in Orissa refers to their rule in that country. But we are not able to accept this suggestion. For these gold coins might have been used by the traders who had visited Orissa for business purpose and we know that the Guptas maintained trade relationship with South East Asia and for this they had to go via Tāmralipti and Gopālpur (Palurā?) which were the ports of capital importance in Kaliṅga.[31] The Gupta traders might have brought their coins with them and they might have exchanged some of the coins in Orissa. A number of Kuṣāna coins have been found in Orissa in Śiśupālgarh, Khaṇḍagiri and other places but because of this nobody has said that Orissa was also under the Kuṣāṇas for some time.

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[30] *History of Orissa*, Dr. Mahatab, Chap. Orissa under Samudragupta Vyāghraparākrama,

From the above it may be stated that though Samudragupta conquered certain territories of Orissa, he liberated these territories and reinstated their kings with independent status and even after him Orissa was never included in the Gupta Empire of his successors, inspite of the fact that some of the inscriptions of Orissa of that period are dated in the GUPTA ERA.

Asoka Kumar Rath

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[31] *Hindu Colonies in the Far East*, p. 11, Dr. R. C Majumdar.

MISCELLANY

Vivutha=Vyūtha=Vyuṭha

The above word occurs, in its various forms, about the end of several versions of Minor Rock Edict I of Aśoka—

Sahasrām—*iyaṁ ca sāvane vivuthena* (/*) *duve-sapaṁnā-lāti satā vivuthā ti* 256 (/*)

Ahraurā—*esa sāvane vivuthena duve-sapaṁnā-lāti-sati aṁ maṁce Budhasa salīle āloḍhe ti*/

Gujarrā—*iyaṁ ca sāvana vivuthena* 256 (/*)

Brahmagiri, Eṛṛaguḍi and Rājula-Maṇḍagiri—*iyaṁ ca sāvane sāvāpite vyūthena* 256 (/*)

Rūpnāth—*vyuṭhenā sāvane kaṭe* (/*) 256 *sata vivāsā* (*so*) *ti* (/*)

The word *vivutha=vyūtha=vyuṭha* is generally regarded as Past Passive Participle of Sanskrit *vi√vas* standing for Sanskrit *vyuṣṭa*. See E. Hultzsch, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. I, 1925, pp. cxxviii, cxxxi, 259; D. R. Bhandarkar, *Aśoka*, 1955, p. 334; etc. Monier-Williams' *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* refers to the *Mahābhārata* and explains *vyuṣṭa* as 'one who has passed or spent [*rajanīṁ*, a night],' while the word *vyuṣita*, derived from the same root, has been likewise explained as 'absent from home,' 'one who has passed [e.g. *rātrim*, a night].' There is some reason to believe that the word intended in the records of Aśoka is really *vyuṣita* and not *vyuṣṭa*.

In the first place, it will be seen that, out of the seven versions of the Edict quoted above, no less than six use the letter *th*, *ṭh* being noticed only in one. We know that, in Early Brāhmī, *ṭh* has the shape of a circle while *th* is written with the same sign with a central dot. The omission of the said dot due to the scribe's oversight, so as to make *th* look like *ṭh*, is easily explainable, though the scribe is hardly expected to insert the central dot making *ṭh* look like *th*, erroneously, in so large a number of cases. It therefore appears that the intended reading of the Rūpnāth version of Minor Rock Edict I is not *vyuṭha* which has suggested *vyuṣṭa* to scholars, but that it really stands for *vyuṣita* which does not suggest *ṭh*.

Secondly, the word *vivutha*, of which *vyūtha* (once wrongly written with *ṭh* as *vyuṭha*) is just another form, is obviously the same as Pali-Prakrit *vivuttha*=Sanskrit *vyuṣita*. The common Pāli-Prakrit word for Sanskrit *uṣita* (to which the *upasarga vi* is prefixed to form the word *vyuṣita*) is known to be *vuttha*, so that Sanskrit *vyuṣita* (*vi*+*uṣita*) would correspond to *vi*+*vuttha*. This *vivuttha* would naturally be written *vivutha* (used in three versions out of seven) in early inscriptional Prakrit avoiding reduplication of the consonant.

The form *vyutha* (wrongly written as *vyuṭha*) was no doubt meant for *vyuttha* to be pronounced as *viyuttha*. But the length of *ū* in *vyūtha* may be due to compensation for the modification of the following conjunct (*ttha*) to a simple consonant (*tha*). In any case, *vy* at the beginning of these words is due to the influence of the corresponding conjunct in Sanskrit *vyuṣita*.

Thus the passages quoted above would mean—

Sahasrām—*idaṁ ca śrāvaṇaṁ vyuṣitena* [*mayā śrāvitam*] / *dvi-ṣaṭpañcāśad-rātri-śate* [*vyāpya*] *vyuṣitaḥ* [*aham*] *iti*— [*aṅkataḥ*] 256/ "This declaration [has been made] by me when I am away from home [on a tour of pilgrimage]. [I am] away from home [on a tour of pilgrimage] for two hundred fiftysix nights (i.e. days)—256 [in figures]."

Ahraurā—*etat śrāvaṇaṁ* [*śrāvitaṁ mayā*] *vyuṣitena dvi-ṣaṭ-pañcāśad-rātri-śate* [*vyāpya*] *yat* (=*yataḥ*) *mañcaṁ Buddhasya śarīraṁ* (=*dehāvaśeṣaḥ*) *ārūḍham iti* / "This declaration [has been made] by me when I am away from home [on a tour of pilgrimage] for two hundred fiftysix nights (i.e. days) since the relics of the Buddha rose to (were raised to) the platform [for worship]."

Gujarrā—*idaṁ ca śrāvaṇaṁ vyuṣitena* 256 (=*dvi-ṣaṭpañcāśad-rātri-śata-vyuṣitena mayā*) [*śrāvitam*] / "This declaration [has been made] by [me] when I am away from home [on a tour of pilgrimage for] 256 [nights, i.e. days]."

Brahmagiri, Eṛṛaguḍi and Rājula-Maṇḍagiri—*idaṁ ca śrāvaṇaṁ śrāvitaṁ vyuṣitena* 256 (=*dvi-ṣaṭpañcāśad-rātri-śata-vyuṣitena mayā*) | "This declaration has been made by [me] when I am away from home [on a tour of pilgrimage for] 256 [nights, i.e. days]."

Rūpnāth—*vyuṣitena* [*mayā*] *śrāvaṇaṃ kṛtam* / 256 *śate* (=*dvi-ṣaṭpañcāśad-rātri-śate vyāpya*) [*me*] *vivāsaḥ iti* / "This declaration has been made by [me] when I am away from home [on a tour of pilgrimage]. [My] stay away from home [has lasted] for 256 [nights, i.e. days]."

It may be pointed out that *sata* (*śate*) in the second sentence quoted from the Rūpnāth version has been wrongly taken to be redundant by some scholars. Cf. Hultzsch, *op. cit.*, p. 169, note 9. The passage 256 *sata* for *dvi-ṣaṭpañcāśad-rātri-śate* may be compared with passages like *saṁvatsara-śate* 872 in the Buchkalā inscription of Nāgabhaṭa II and *Guptānāṁ saṁvatsara-śate* 282 in the Arang plates of Bhīmasena II. See Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 22, 1329. It should also be mentioned that we prefer to read *duve-sapaṁnā-lāti-satā* as a single compound expression or *duve sapaṁnā-lāti satā* in two words, but not *duve sapaṁnā lati-satā* in three words as is usually read by scholars.

D. C. SIRCAR

The Liṅga-daivata Hymns : A Rigvedic Riddle ?

Among the various riddles presented by the Rigveda, that of the Liṅga-daivata hymns is undoubtedly one which deserves very serious attention. Unfortunately, the matter has so long been totally neglected by scholars writing about the Religion and Philosophy of the Vedas. The cause of this negligence or avoidance can be a matter of surmise only, though it apparently betrays the leisurely manner in which the Rigveda seems to have been studied. The question would have been otherwise, if the reference to the Liṅga-deities happened to be a casual one; but the fact that these deities have been extolled in at least 20 different hymns,—from the 1st to the 10th Mandala of the Rigveda,—certainly bespeaks their importance in the eyes of the Rigvedic seers.

It cannot be denied that the title "Liṅga-daivata" (relating to the Liṅga-deities) is a peculiar one, indicative of liṅga. Liṅga ordinarily means gender or sex, as in the three genders of Grammar, namely, Masculine, Feminine and Neuter. We have in the Rigveda male and female deities in plenty; but there is perhaps only one Deity, represented in the neuter gender, or in no gender at all,—the all-powerful and all-embracing "Brahma," a term originally applied to a few of the principal Rigvedic deities like Agni, Indra, etc. Apart from this common meaning of the word, the term linga, however, is found to have been used in a different sense in the Rigveda and elsewhere, in relation to the deities. Thus the terms Indra-liṅga, Vāyu-liṅga, Agni-liṅga, Surya-liṅga, etc., as cited by Yāska (7th century B. C.) in his Nirukta, chapter 1/17, and by Śaunaka (6th century B. C.) in his Brihaddevatā chapter 1/86-90, mean signs of Indra, Vāyu, Agni & Surya respectively, not the gender or sex of these deities. The word, therefore, assumes the new meaning of identifying sign, or symbol, or pratīka, and we shall presently see that this meaning is also applicable to the case of the Liṅga-devatās of the Rigveda, both male and female.

It is well-known that every Rigvedic hymn is superscribed with the name or names of the seer or seers, the name or names of the deity or deities to whom the hymn is addressed, and details regarding stanzas and metres. These details of the superscriptions undoubtedly came from the works of different Vedic teachers of the past, and, later on, from those of Yāska, Śaunaka and Kātyāyana (5th century B. C.). Thus we come across hymns and stanzas (mantras) addressed to numerous gods and goddesses like Agni, Indra, Mitra, Varuna, Rudra, Surya, Vishnu, Bhaga, Pushā, Dyauh, etc., among the male deities, and to Aditi, Sarasvatī, Indrānī, Agnayī, Earth, Ilā, Bhāratī, Rākā, Kuhū, Sinīvali, Pathyāsvasti, Shrī, Yamī and others, among the females. But apart from all these clearly indicated hymns, we find in the Rigveda a number of hymns and stanzas (mantras) addressed to a class of deities described as "Liṅga-devatās" or "Liṅgokta-devatās." These hymns and stanzas can *prima facie* claim no special peculiarity of their own, excepting perhaps their title only, in as much as they appear quite similar to the others in form, language, metres, and other respects. Vedic teachers like Yāska, Śaunaka and Kātyāyana, apparently differ as to the number of hymns and stanzas to which the heading "Liṅgokta-daivata" or "Liṅga-daivata" should apply; but from what can be gathered from their remarks in Nirukta, Brihaddevatā and Sarvānukramanī respectively, it may be said that at least 4 entire hymns have been dedicated to the Liṅga-deities, while, in as many as 16 different hymns, they have been lauded in stanzas. Details of these hymns and stanzas are given below for the information of readers: —

Full Hymns: —

R. V. IV-13 & 14.	The seer of these 2 hymns in Gautama Vāmadeva, and the deities are Agni, Ushā, the Aśvins, Surya, Varuna, Mitra, Skambha, Dyauh and Earth.
X-161.	The seer is Prājāpatya (son of Prajāpati) Consumption-killer. The deities applauded

	are Indra & Agni, Savitā, Nirrhiti and Brihaspati.
X-184.	The seer here is Tvashtā (Viśvakarmā) or Vishnu Prājāpatya alternatively, and the deities praised are Vishnu & Tvashta (self-praise?), Prajapati-Dhātā, Sinīvali, Sarasvatī, and the Aśvins.

Part-hymns or Stanzas: —

I-35-1.	The seer is Hiranyastupa Āngirasa, the deities being Agni, Mitra, Varuna, Rātri and Savitā.
I-94-8,9, 10 & 16.	The seer is Kutsa Āngirasa, the deities adored being the gods, Agni, Mitra, Varuna, Aditi, Sindhu, Earth and Sky (Dyauh).
I-112-24 & 25.	The seer is the same Kutsa, and the deities are the Aśvins, Dyauh, Mitra, Varuna, Aditi, Sindhu and Earth.
I-136-6 & 7.	The seer is Parucchepa, son of Divodāsa, while the deities appear to be Rodasī (Earth & Sky), Mitra, Varuna, Indra, Agni, Bhaga, Soma and the Maruts.
II-32-8.	The seer is Gritsamada, and the deities are Gungu, Sinīvali, Rākā, Sarasvatī, Indrānī & Varunānī, all female.
V-26-9.	The seers here are the Ātreyas (sons of Atri), the deities being the Maruts, the Aśvins, Mitra, Varuna & All-gods.
VI-47-20.	The seer in this case is Garga, and the deities are Earth, Brihaspati and Indra.
VI-75-10 & 17-19.	The seer is Pāyu, son of Bharadvāja, and the deities are the Brāhmaṇas, the Pitris, Soma, Pushā, Brahmanaspati, Aditi, and Varuna.
VI-48-13 to 15.	The seer is Shangju, son of Brihaspati, while the deities praised are Dhenu, Indra, Varuna, Aryamā, Vishnu, the Maruts and Pushā.

VII-41-1.	The seer is Vaśiṣṭha, the deities being Agni, Indra, Mitra, Varuna, the Aśvins, Bhaga, Pushā, Brahmanaspati, Soma, Rudra, etc.
VII-44-1.	The seer is the same Vaśiṣṭha, and the deities are Dadhikrā, the Aśvins, Ushā, Agni, Bhaga, Indra, Vishnu, Pushā, Brahmanaspati, the Ādityas, Dyauh, Earth, Āpah (Water) and Svah (Heaven).
X-14-6 to 9.	The seer is Yama Vaivasvat, god of Death, and those praised include the Angirās, the Pitris, the Atharvās, the Bhṛgus, some pious kings (all departed souls), & Varuna.
X-17-7 to 9.	The seer is Devashravā, son of Yama, those praised being Sarasvatī, and the Pitris (Patriarchs of the past).
X-59-7.	The seers are the Gaupāyana brothers (nephews of Agastya), the deities praised are Earth, Dyauh, Antariksha (atmosphere or the middle region), Soma, Pushā and Pathyāsvasti.
X-132-1.	The seer in this case is Nārmedha, the deities being Dyauh, Earth and the Aśvins.
X-167-3.	The joint-seers are Viśvāmitra and Jāmadagni (father of Jāmadagnya Parashu-Rāma), while the deities adored are Soma (Moon), Varuna, Brihaspati, Anumatī, Indra, Dhātā, etc.

The first thing that will undoubtedly strike even a casual reader of the above hymns and stanzas, is why the designation "Liṅga-daivata" has been applied to them, most of which could otherwise have been easily termed as Viśvadeva hymns and stanzas, where several, or many gods, or all-gods are praised either together, or alternately, one after the other. Moreover, the deities addressed here happen to be those usually lauded throughout the Rigveda; there appears nothing new or peculiar about them, except, perhaps, for the case of the departed patriarchs, who, too, are mentioned not unoften elsewhere as Pitris, or under similar designations,—not as Liṅga-devatās. What special peculiarity was then actually responsible for such a designation? The other important thing to note, in this connection, is the mention of at least 4 or 5 deities as seers in the company of the human seers.

The problem now is the significance of the title. As already stated, in the beginning, Nirukta deals with the term liṅga, applied in relation to the deities, in chapter 1/17; but Yāska's emphasis on the need for Nirukta or the Science of Etymology, for correct identification of the deity of a hymn or stanza, apparently does not apply to the case of the Liṅgokta hymns and stanzas, as he actually cites two ordinary stanzas from the Rigveda, in illustration of his case, not any one from among the Liṅga-daivatas. Nevertheless, his exposition of the term linga as an identifying mark or symbol, is the earliest of the available commentaries on the word, and, as such, is undoubtedly of immense help and importance to us. Yāska's successor, Śaunaka, in his *Brihaddevatā*, represents the Liṅga-deities as those bearing characteristic names and marks—chapter 1/86-90. He deals with the Liṅgadaivata hymns and stanzas in several places of his book, and though the actual significance of the title seems nowhere explained very clearly, in one place at least, he calls 3½ Liṅga-daivata stanzas "देवदेवा:", or stanzas where the deities mentioned are *all* the deities of the stanzas concerned (Brihaddevata, chapter 3/126, dealing with R. V. I-94-8,9, 10 & half of 16). Śaunaka's successor, Kātyāyana, too, calls the same hymn (R. V. I-94) लिङ्गोक्तदेवतो यद्देवत्यं वा सूक्तम्,—or a hymn (containing stanzas) dedicated to the Liṅga-devatas or to the deities actually mentioned by name. From the above remarks, it can, therefore, be safely assumed that the Liṅga-daivata hymns and stanzas are those where all the deities mentioned by name are the actual deities of the hymns and stanzas. Thus they differ from the others in that, all the deities mentioned here are equally important,—whereas in the case of the ordinary stanzas, those mentioned in the superscriptions alone are regarded as main or actual, the others being treated as mentioned incidentally only, or as निपातेन याः स्तुताः, in the language of Śaunaka. The Vedic hymns offer innumerable instances of such cases. To cite only two examples from Yāska's Nirukta—chapter 1/17—, (a) in the stanza R. V. VI-4-7 "इन्द्रं न त्वा शवसा देवता वायुं पृणन्ति राधसा नृतमाः।" इत्यादि dedicated to Agni, the names of Indra and Vāyu occur incidentally only, and (b) in the staza X-82-2 "अग्निरिव मन्यो त्विषितः सहस्व सेनानीर्नः सहुरे हूत एधि।" इत्यादि dedicated to Manyu, the name of Agni occurs incidentally. But even then, there apparently remains but little difference between the Liṅga-daivatas and the Viśvadeva hymns, where, too, all the deities mentioned are equally important. Close scrutiny, however, reveals that the Liṅgadaivata stanzas, in many cases, mention a number of deities in close juxtaposition; but the Viśvadevas seldom do this. The other peculiarity of the Liṅga-daivata stanzas (not hymns) is that, in most cases, the same deities who are extolled in the other stanzas of the hymns alternately, with their usual names and characteristics,—actually reappear as Liṅga-dieties in the Liṅgokta stanzas of the same hymns This peculiarity, too, is absent in the case of the Viśvadevas. The implication of the remarks of Yāska, Śaunaka and Kātyāyana, therefore, seems to be that actual and appropriate marks or symbols, representing the various deities concerned, were used at the time of recital of the Liṅga-daivata hymns and stanzas. What these signs or symbols were, is not described; but they might be mere marks, or even material symbols, as supposed by Prof. Macdonell in his Vedic Mythology, page 155. As a matter of fact, we come across the term 'Pratīkam', used in the sense of 'Rūpam' (Nirukta-VII-31) or Sadrisham (Skandaswami), in connection with a number of deities, at least 7 times in the Rigveda (as in R.V.:—VI-50-8; VI-75-1; VII-3-6; VII-8-1; VII-36-1; X-88-19 and X-118-3.),—thus pointing to the fact that symbols or pratīkas (or even images?) were largely used by the Rigvedic seers to represent deities. The word 'Liṅga' in relation to several deities, is also met with in the first chapter of th Kaushika Sutra (belonging to the Atharvaveda), as the word 'Viśvaliṅga' is found in the Nirukta (chapter XII-40) to respresent the Viśvadevas. The term Liṅg-devatā has been variously rendered as "divinities mentioned by their characteristic names", or as "divinities expressed by name or characteristic marks". It will not be out of place here to refer to the views of Ācārya Bharadvāja on liṅga-mantras and Liṅga-devatās, as quoted by Sāyana in the introduction to his commentary on the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa of the Black Yajurveda, chapter II-4-1. Regarding a sacrifice called "Upahoma", Bharadvāja advises the use of suitable mantras in accordance with the signs or symbols (liṅgas) of the deities concerned. Wise men (priests), he declares, apply appropriate mantras for each individual deity, following the instructions of the various Śruti and Smriti texts. Where such clear instructions will not be available, suitable mantras as indicative of the liṅgas (marks) of the deities, are to be applied. Needless to say, the remarks of Acārya Bharadvāja point to the same conclusion as ours. It is not precisely known whether this Bharadvāja preceded Yāska and Śaunaka; but his views as a Vedic teacher of repute, are doubtless authoritative.

The significance of the title "Liṅga-daivata" thus no longer remaining a riddle, it may be reasonably assumed that many of the Rigvedic deities, if not all of them, both male and female, originally bore special identifying liṅgas or symbols or pratīkas of their own. Some still retain them, in different ways and and shapes, and Rudra-Śiva among them, in the shape of what appears as the genetic organ. How this symbolic Liṅga-worship came to be attached to Rudra-Śiva, or, in other words, how this symbol or pratīka of the genetic organ came to represent Rudra-Śiva alone, of all the Rigvedic Liṅga-deities,—is a different matter, and beyond the scope of this article. It has, of course, its appropriate explanations, which are found abundantly in the Saṁhitā texts, and it is for the critical and devoted readers of the Vedas to find them out. The current view that the name of Śiva is not found in the Saṁhitā texts, is not correct. Other

Saṁhitās apart, careful study of the Rigveda alone will reveal not only the name of Śiva in at least 9 different places, but also many of his other famous appellations like Bhava, Īsha, Īshāna, Devadeva, Mahādeva, Ugra, Nīlalohita, etc., each repeated several times.

The other thing that also becomes quite clear, is that, neither the Rigvedic seers themselves, nor their descendants had ever any abhorrence for the worship of the Liṅga-deities, in the shape of marks, or symbols, or pratīkas. This being the case, the origin of the worship of Liṅga-deities, can, unmistakably and unhesitatingly, be traced to the earlier period of the Rigveda. Not only this, it may also be stated, on the strength of the evidence of the Rigvede itself, that some Rigvedic deities and their sons, too, have been among the seers that actually applauded the Liṅga-deities,—thus fully signifying the perfectly Aryan character of the practice of Liṅga-warship (symbol or pratīka worship). The question may, therefore, be naturally asked:— "If the worship of a Liṅga-deity was actually denouced in the Rigveda, as declared by various reputed scholars,—how could there have been so many hymns and stanzas addressed to the same detestable Liṅga-deities, by so many Rigvedic seers, both men and gods?"

Scholars may be interested to know that the Liṅga-deities have been extolled also in the Khila sections of the Rigveda. These Khilas some of which are as old as the hymns of the main book, in the opinion of scholars, and also probably equally respected by the Vedic teachers,—mention these deities in at least 6 different places. The Khila hymns are divided in 5 Sections or Adhyāyas, the last one dealing also with the Nivids and Praishas. The relevant details of these references to the Liṅga-deities are briefly stated below:—

R. V. Khila Adhyāya:

1-2-9. The seer is Tārkshya Suparna.

1-4-6. (Half this mantra according to Khilanukramani). The seer is Bhāradvāja.

I-5-6. The seer is the same Bhāradvāja.

III-8-5. The seer is Prishadhra or Prashkanva.

V-5, 1 to 11. Entire Hymn. It is a Nivid.

V-7(2). Entire Hymn. It is a Praisha.

It is indeed unfortunate that no Vedic scholar is known to have dealt with the matter of these Liṅga-deities mentioned in so many hymns (26 in all) of the Rigveda. It cannot, of course, be said that the hymns actually escaped the notice of all scholars, many of whom are reputed to have studied the Vedas for years. Possibly, they did not consider the matter important enough for any special discussion; but it cannot also be denied, in the present context, that very many minor things, too, mentioned but casually in the Rigveda, have been discussed at some lengths by the same scholars. It may also be that those noticing them and also understanding their significance, preferred to remain silent, in order to avoid the displeasure of a large number of scholars, who had already declared that worship of a Liṅga-deity was actually denounced in the Rigveda, and that it was a practice of non-Aryan origin,—later on adopted by the Aryan teachers during the period of the late Brāhmaṇas, and the Āranyakas.

Attention of all Vedic scholars is herewith drawn to these hitherto neglected Liṅga-daivata hymns and stanzas. The matter unquestionably deserves very careful study and investigation, in the interest of the Religion of the Hindus.

It will not perhaps be a digression to say a few words regarding Liṅga-worship as generally undestood by the European scholars. Though the Vedic seers themselves, their descendants, and also the later Vedic teachers, all looked upon the practice purely as worship by means of signs, symbols and pratīkas, material or otherwise, the European scholars took it to be worship of the phallus. If the terms Indra-liṅga, Vāyu-liṅga, Agni-liṅga, Varuna-liṅga, Sūrya-liṅga, Asvina-liṅga, Sarasvatī-liṅga, Viśva-liṅga (representing the signs of all-gods), etc., were to be interpreted in this queer, un-Vedic and un-traditional sense, one would imagine that ancient India must have been full of the phallus-worshippers of all the Rigvedic deities (both male and female) mentioned as Liṅga-devatās in the Rigveda. It is a matter of great regret that some eminent Indian scholars have accepted this erroneous view of Liṅga-worship, in disregard of the clear and unassailable evidences of the Vedic exegetical texts. Could it be that these scholars put more credence on the superficial interpretation of the European scholars than on the correct exposition of the ancient teachers, who were the inheritors of the Vedic traditions laid down by the seers and their direct descendants and followers? Or could it be that they did not care to read the Vedic exegetical texts themselves, leaving the task to others regarded by them as the correct interpreters of Indian religious thoughts and ideas? Is it not time that the age-old, injurious habit of too-much dependence on others were shaken off ?

AMIYA KUMAR CHAKRAVORTY

On the Probability of Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi's Rule in the Andhra Country

Divergent views have been held with regard to the original home of the rulers of the Sātavāhana family, called the Andhras in the Purāṇas.[1] Rapson,[2] Smith[3] and B. V. Krishnarao[4] advocate the view that the Sātavāhanas first rose to political power in Andhra-deśa. There is, however, no definite evidence to connect the early Sātavāhanas with Andhra-deśa comprising the eastern part of the peninsula with its nucleus round the mouths of the rivers Godavari and Krishna. This has led scholars like Gopalachari[5] and Sircar[6] to question the above view of Rapson. They locate the earliest Sātavāhana kingdom in Western Deccan. The fact that the early Sātavāhana records have all been found in Western Deccan[7] lends support to the latter view. And it is now generally admitted that the Sātavāhanas had established their earliest kingdom in Western Deccan.

There is, however, no gainsaying the fact that at some later date Andhra-deśa came to be included within the Sātavāhana dominion. But scholars are not unanimous with regard to the question when exactly the Sātavāhana hegemony was first extended to the Andhra country. According to Sircar, "Puḷumāvi ... ...

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[1] F. E. Pargiter, *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 46.

[2] E. J. Rapson, *Catalogue of coins of the Andhra Dynasty, the Western Kṣatrapas, Traikūtaka Dynasty, and the Bodhi Dynasty*, p. xvi.

[3] *Zeitschrift der Deutscben Morgenlandischen Gasellschaft*. 1902, p. 657.

[4] B. V. Krishnarao, *A History of the Early Dynasties of Andhradeśa 200-625 A.D.*, p. 4.

[5] K. Gopalachari, *Early History of the Andhra Country*, p. 5 f.

[6] R. C. Majumdar (Editor), *Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 191-192.

[7] D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions Bearing on Indian History and Civilisation*, vol. I. pp. 183-190.

was probably responsible for the extension of Sātavāhana power in the land about the mouths of the Krishna. This is suggested by the discovery not only of his inscription at Amarāvatī but also of a large number of his coins in the same area as well as in the adjoining regions."[8] M. Rama Rao, on the other hand, suggests, mainly on the basis of the provenances of the coins of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, that the Andhra country had already passed under the rule of the Sātavāhanas during the time of Puḷumāvi's illustrious father.[9]

No doubt, the discovery of species of a certain ruler at a particular place does not necessarily prove his authority over the area concerned. There are, however, some other valuable data in support of the theory of M. Rama Rao.

The excavations at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa in the Guntur district have yielded several moulds of the coins of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi.[10] The discovery of coin moulds is of some significance and may perhaps be interpreted to mean that during the reign of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi a Sātavāhana mint was located at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. It may be presumed hence that at least the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa region of the Andhra country was included within his dominion.

Another significant evidence in this regard has also been discovered at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. The Nāgārjunakoṇḍa inscription of the Ābhīra king Vasuṣena of the year 30[11] speaks of the installation of Lord Aṣṭabhujasvāmin on the Seḍagiri, i.e. Seṭagiri; ("without being removed from his place") and also of the excavation of two tanks "on Seṭagiri and at Muḍerā".[12] There is hardly any doubt that the Seṭagiri in question was in the region of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa where the inscription was found. Sircar connects the Siddhaldhari hill, standing within 200 yards of the findspot of this inscription, with the Seṭagiri of the record, and thinks further that the Seṭagiri was a range of hills of which the Siddhaldhari formed a part.[13] The association of the Seṭagiri of the inscription of Vasuṣena with the Siddhaldhari hill in the vicinity of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, as suggested by Sircar, is quite reasonable and may be accepted without any hesitation. But there is hardly any evidence to support the application of the name Seṭagiri to any range of hills away from the vicinity of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.

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[8] *AIU.*, pp. 204-205.

[9] *Indian History Congress, Proceedings of the Sixteenth Session*, Waltair, 1953, p. 38.

[10] *Indian Archaeology, A Review* 1956-57, p. 38.

[11] *IA., A Review* 1958-59. p. 8 & pl VA. The historical importance of the said inscription was discussed by B. N. Mukherjee (*Indian Historical Quarterly, June* 1959, p. 140). He, following the Editor of the *Indian Archaeology A Review*, read the year as 9. D. C. Sircar who edited the inscription (*Epigraphia Indica* vol, XXXIV. pp. 197-204) read the year as 30. His reading of the date seems to be more probable, since we find the same type of numeral 30 in some of the Kuṣāṇa records, (G. S, Hirachand Ojha, *Bharatiya Prachina Lipimāla*, pl. lxxii).

A particular passage in the Nasik *praśasti* of Gautamī Balaśrī seems to assume an added significance in the light of the identification of the Seṭagiri with the Siddhaldhari hill adjoining Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. This *praśasti* refers to the Sātavāhana king Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi as the lord, *inter alia*, of the Seṭagiri.[14] It is highly probable that the Seṭagiri of the Nasik inscription was identical with the homonymous hill referred to in Vasuṣena's epigraph from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, since the interval between these records need not be more than 200 or 250[15] years, and since no Seṭagiri, which can be located somewhere away from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa is referred to in any known source of ancient Indian history.

These considerations certainly indicate Gautamīputra's rule over the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa region. So far as available sources can indicate, Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi seems to have been the first Sātavāhana monarch to extend the Sātavāhana rule over parts, or the whole, of Andhra-deśa.[16]

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[12] *EI.*, vol. xxxiv, no. 30, p. 203.

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 200.

[14] *SIBIHC.*, pp. 196-200.

[15] *AIU.*, p. 202, *EI.*, vol. XXXIV, p. 197 f ; K. Gopalachari, *op. cit.*, p. 55 ; *IHQ.*, 1959, p. 140 f.

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[16] After Gautamīputra, we get evidence of continuous or at least continual rule of the Sātavāhanas over parts, or the whole of the Andhra country. See Amaravatī inscription of Pulumāvi (*Archaeological Survey of Southern India*, vol. I, p. 100), Amaravatī inscription of Siri Sivamka Sada (Ibid, p. 61), Chinna inscription of Śrī Yajña Sātakarṇi (*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. XVI, p. 627 f), and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa inscription of Vijaya Sātakarṇi (*I.A., A Review*, 1961-62).

A Note on the Date of Gondophares I

Gondophares I is identified with king Guduvhara of the Takht-i-Bahi inscription of years 26 and 103[1]. On the correct assessment of these dates in terms of the Christian Era depends the accurate dating not only of Gondophares I himself, but also of the group of Azes I and of that of Vonones.

Rapson pointed out that the symbol of Gondophares I was found struck on some coins of Orodes II (57—37/36 B.C.)[2]. Cunningham thought that the same mark could be noticed on some issues of Artabanus III (A.D. 12-c. 38 or 40)[3]. However, Rapson was not sure about the accuracy of Cunningham's observation[4], and this greatly impaired the value of the testimony of the last group of coins. Nevertheless, there is a piece of unnoticed evidence which connects the coinage of Artabanus III with that of Gondophares I. There is a close similarity, if not identity, between a reverse type of the former, displaying the king on horse back to left and in front of him Tyche holding a palm branch in her upraised right hand and a spear in her left hand[5], and an obverse type of Gondophares I with similar features[6].

Since we have cases of influence of the Imperial Parthian coinage on the issues of the members of the group of Orthagnes including Gondophares I himself[7], and not *vice versa*, there is every reason to believe that the type of the latter in question had its prototype in the reverse device of Artabanus III. This type of Artabanus III appears only on his coins dated in the year 338 (S.E.)[8], i.e. A.D. 27/28. Hence it seems that a part of Gondophares I's rule must be placed in or after A.D. 27/28. And since there is no reason to ascribe an unusually long reign to Gondophares I, his rule must be placed in the first half of the 1st century A.D.[9]

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[1] S. Konow, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. II, pt. I. pp. 58-62. For the evidence concerning the existence of a second Gondophares, see *East & West*, vol. VIII, pl. 4. p. 54.

[2] *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1904, p. 677; E. J. Rapson (Editor), *Cambridge History of India*, vol. I, p. 578.

[3] *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1890, p. 119.

[4] *JRAS.*, 1904, p. 677.

[5] W. Wroth, *A Catalogue of The Parthian Coins in the British Museum, Catalogue of the Coins of Parthia*, pl. XXV, Nos. 5 & 6.

[6] P. Gardner, *The Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India in the British Museum,*/ pl. XXII, No. 12; *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1819, pl. XIII, No. 12. It is not sure whether the figure

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holds a spear in her left hand and also in her right hand she has a palm branch or a wreath. However, these are only minor variations, and need not minimise the value of our evidence.

[7] The Imperial Parthian Type of "King seated with a bow in his hand" (W. Wroth, *op. cit.* pl. VIII f) was copied by Gondophares I himself and by most of the members of his group (*East & West*, vol. VIII, pl. 4, p. 54).

[8] W. Wroth, *op. cit.*, pl. XXV Nos. 5 & 6. W. Wroth wrongly assumed the first year of the era in which his coins are dated as 312 B.C. According to his calculation, the year 338 should correspond to A.D. 26/27 (*Ibid.* pp. 148-149). R. H. McDowell has correctly shown that the epoch of the era concerned should be April 311 B.C. (R. H. McDowell, *Coins From Seleucia on the Tigris*, p. 148).

[9] This conclusion militates against the theories of Jayaswal (*Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, vol. XVI, pp. 241 & 242) and of J. E. Lohuizen De-Leeuw (J. E. Lohuizen De-Leeuw, *The Scythian Period*, pp. 352 and 358), which place the whole period of Gondophares I's rule before the Christian Era.

Konow tried to ascribe the year 103 to an old Saka Era of 84 B.C. and the year 26 to a reckoning started in 7-6 B.C. and with the accession of Azes (S. Konow, *op. cit.*, pp. xliv and 58). The reckoning termed as the Old Śaka by Konow, cannot be definitely taken to have started in 84 B.C. Again, there is no evidence in support of the historicity of any Era having its initial year in 7-6 B.C. There was an Azes Era. But it is probably to be identified with the reckoning of 58 B.C. (K. A. Nilakantha Sastri (Editor), *A Comprehensive History of India*, vol. II, p. 207). Konow himself later realised the weakness of his theory and discarded it (*The Journal of Indian History*, vol. XII, p. 25).

The only known era, of which the year 103, one of the dates of Gondophares I's Takht-i-Bahi inscription, can be placed in the first half of the 1st century A.D. is the so-called Vikrama Era of 58 B.C. Thus the numismatic testimonies strongly support the traditional dating of the epigraph in question in the so-called Vikrama Era[10], and clinches the issues in favour of that theory unless we believe—and there is no reason to do so—in the existence of some other era of northern India having its epoch in the 1st century B.C. So with considerable confidence the year 103 of the Takht-i-Bahi record can be placed in A.D. 45/46. The year 26 of Guduvhara (=Gondophares I), also referred to in the same inscription, may mean the 26th year of his rule, and can hardly allude to any other era, since we do not know of any era which would fit it[11].

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There is no definite fact to support A Simonetta's suggestion that the year 103 should be referred to a Drangian Era when its initial year falling between 87 and 80 B.C. (*East & West*, vol. IX, p. 170).

[10] The year 103 of the Takht-i-Bahi inscription is generally referred to the so-called Vikrama Era of 58 B.C. (*JRAS*, 1905, pp. 223-226; 1906, pp. 706-711; *CHI*, vol. I, 576; H. C. Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India* (5th edition), p. 452; R. C. Majumdar (Editor), *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 130; *Com. His. Ind.*, vol. II, p. 212 etc. etc.).

[11] See fn. 9.

Last Days of the Maukharis

The Asirgadh seal[1] of Śarvavarman contains a genealogical record of the Maukharis of the Uttarapradesa, a well-known royal family in ancient India. According to this seal[2], the first member of this dynasty was Harivarman. Harivarman was succeeded by Ādityavarman, Ādityavarman by Īśvaravarman, Īśvaravarman by Īśānavarman and Īśānavarman by Śarvavarman. Barring Īśānavarman and Śarvavarman all the other members were simply *mahārājas*. The house of the Maukharis came into prominence in the time of Īśānavarman as is indicated by his imperial title *Mahārājādhirāja* and the story of his conquests of the Āndhras, Śūlikas and the Vaṅgas known from his Haraha record of the Vikrama year 611 i.e. A.D. 554. The next ruler, *Mahārājādhirāja* Śarvavarman, also a substantial figure, annexed Magadha to his kingdom, a fact which is confirmed by his seal[3] with the imperial title of *Parameśvara* applied to him in the Deo Baranark inscription[4] of Jīvitagupta (II) of the Later Gupta dynasty. Probably by defeating Mahāsenagupta, Śarvavarman won the supremacy over Magadha.

The Asirgadh seal stops with Śarvavarman. So also does the seal of the king found at Nalanda. Bāṇa, the author of the *Kādambarī* and the *Harṣacarita*, speaks of Avantivarman and his son Grahavarman and assigns them to the Maukhari (or Mukhara) dynasty. He gives a detailed description of Grahavarman's marriage with Rājyaśrī, the daughter of Prabhākaravardhana of the house of Puṣpabhūti of Thanesvar. But he does not say anything about the predecessor of Avantivarman and about Avantivarman too he is not very eloquent.

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[1] *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, III, No. 47

[2] *Epigraphia Indica*, XI, pp. 110 ff.

[3] *EI.*, XXI, pp. 73ff and *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1927-28, p. 139.

[4] *CII.*, III, No. 46.

A seal[5], belonging to Avantivarman, has been discovered at Nalanda. It has found out a place for Avantivarman in the genealogy of the Maukharis of the Uttarapradesa. The seal in question describes Avantivarman as the son of Śarvavarman. The reference to Avantivarman immediately after Śarvavarman in the Deo-Baranark inscription is thus found to have significance in the light of the present Nalanda seal. Avantivarman assumed imperial titles, as his seal shows. He is not known to bave made any conquest. Hence it may be presumed that he succeeded in maintaining the integrity of the kingdom inherited from his father.

Another seal[6] found at Nalanda belongs to a son of Avantivarman, but unfortunately his name cannot be read with certainty. A Ghosh, the editor of the seal, reads the name either as 'Suva' or as 'Sucha'[7]. This name has raised speculations among scholars regarding the identity of the man in question as well as his position in the history of the Maukharis.

Bāṇabhaṭṭa in his *Harṣacarita* describes Grahavarman as the 'eldest son' of Avantivarman[8] (अवन्तिवर्मणः सूनुरग्रजो ग्रहवर्मा). The *Harṣacarita* informs us that Grahavarman on his own initiative married Rājyaśrī, the daughter of Prabhākaravardhana. From the tenor of the description it also appears that at the time of his marriage, his father, Avantivarman, was not alive. This may show that Grahavarman, as the eldest son of his father, succeeded him immediately. Grahavarman however could not enjoy the royal fortunes for a long time. There

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[5] *EI.*, XXIV, p. 283.

[6] *Ibid*. 28

[7] The editor of *EI*. wants to restore the name as Suchandravarman.

[8] Nirnayasagar edition, p. 156.

Last Days of the Maukharis

The Asirgadh seal[1] of Śarvavarman contains a genealogical record of the Maukharis of the Uttarapradesa, a well-known royal family in ancient India. According to this seal[2], the first member of this dynasty was Harivarman. Harivarman was succeeded by Ādityavarman, Ādityavarman by Īśvaravarman, Īśvaravarman by Īśānavarman and Īśānavarman by Śarvavarman. Barring Īśānavarman and Śarvavarman all the other members were simply *mahārājas*. The house of the Maukharis came into prominence in the time of Īśānavarman as is indicated by his imperial title *Mahārājādhirāja* and the story of his conquests of the Āndhras, Śūlikas and the Vaṅgas known from his Haraha record of the Vikrama year 611 i.e. A.D. 554. The next ruler, *Mahārājādhirāja* Śarvavarman, also a substantial figure, annexed Magadha to his kingdom, a fact which is confirmed by his seal[3] with the imperial title of *Parameśvara* applied to him in the Deo Baranark inscription[4] of Jīvitagupta (II) of the Later Gupta dynasty. Probably by defeating Mahāsenagupta, Śarvavarman won the supremacy over Magadha.

The Asirgadh seal stops with Śarvavarman. So also does the seal of the king found at Nalanda. Bāṇa, the author of the *Kādambarī* and the *Harṣacarita*, speaks of Avantivarman and his son Grahavarman and assigns them to the Maukhari (or Mukhara) dynasty. He gives a detailed description of Grahavarman's marriage with Rājyaśrī, the daughter of Prabhākaravardhana of the house of Puṣpabhūti of Thanesvar. But he does not say anything about the predecessor of Avantivarman and about Avantivarman too he is not very eloquent.

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[1] *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, III, No. 47

[2] *Epigraphia Indica*, XI, pp. 110 ff.

[3] EI., XXI, pp. 73ff and *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1927-28, p. 139.

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Another seal[6] found at Nalanda belongs to a son of Avantivarman, but unfortunately his name cannot be read with certainty. A Ghosh, the editor of the seal, reads the name either as 'Suva' or as 'Sucha'[7]. This name has raised speculations among scholars regarding the identity of the man in question as well as his position in the history of the Maukharis.

Bāṇabhaṭṭa in his *Harṣacarita* describes Grahavarman as the 'eldest son' of Avantivarman[8] (अवन्तिवर्मणः सूनुरग्रजो ग्रहवर्मा). The *Harṣacarita* informs us that Grahavarman on his own initiative married Rājyaśrī, the daughter of Prabhākaravardhana. From the tenor of the description it also appears that at the time of his marriage, his father, Avantivarman, was not alive. This may show that Grahavarman, as the eldest son of his father, succeeded him immediately. Grahavarman however could not enjoy the royal fortunes for a long time. There is also a possibility that Grahavarman married Rājyaśrī and met his doom at the hands of Devagupta of Mālava during the lifetime of his father. And if such a conjecture is accepted, we have to believe that just after the death of Grahavarman and before the occupation of Kanauj, the Maukhari citadel, by Harṣavardhana, Avantivarman was on the Maukhari throne and it was by deposing him that Harṣavardhana occupied Kanauj. But a careful reader of the *Harṣacarita* would not like to accept such a conjecture. He would rather surmise that Grahavarman married Rājyaśrī while he was a king of Kanauj and it was after his death that some one of the Maukhari house sat upon the Maukhari throne only to be ousted by Harṣavardhana very soon.

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[5] *EI.*, XXIV, p. 283,

[6] *Ibid.* 28

[7] The editor of *EI.* wants to restore the name as Suchandravarman.

[8] Nirnayasagar edition, p. 156.

Now who this 'some one' was? It may be believed that he was a son of Avantivarman and in that case, the younger son of the Maukhari ruler as is evident from the explicit statement of Bāṇa that Grahavarman was the *eldest* son of Avantivarman. A. Ghosh[9] has rightly identified that younger son of Avantivarman 'the legal heir to the Maukhari throne', with Suva or Sucha of the Nalanda seal. He has also reasonably conjectured[10] that this son was perhaps the progenitor of the later Maukhari dynasty, a scion of which, Bhogavarman, 'the crest-jewel of the illustrious Varmans of the Maukhari race', married his daughter to a Nepal king in the 8th c. A.D.[11]

That there was a 'legal heir to the Maukhari throne' even after the death of Grahavarman will be evident from the *Ārya-Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*. A passage of it runs thus:[12]

ततो विष्णुहरश्चैव कुन्तनामाजितः परः ।
ईशानसर्वपङ्क्तिश्च ग्रहसुव्र तथापरः ॥
ततस्ते विलुप्तराजानः भ्रष्टमर्षाद् सर्वदा ।

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[9] *EI*, XXIV, p. 284

[10] *Ibid.*,

[11] *Indian Antiquary*, IX, pp. 178 ff.

[12] Ganapati Sastri's edition, p. 626.

The translation of the passage is as follows: "Then (there will be) (1) Viṣṇu and (2) Hara. Another (3) Ajita called Kunta (4) Īśana (5) Sarva and (6) Paṅkti, (7) Graha and after him Suvra (or Suvrata). Then they lose their kings and become fallen in prestige."

In commenting on this passage, K. P. Jayaswal[13] observes: "In this group whom I have numbered above, it is easy to recognise Maukhari kings in Nos. 4 to 6. 'Paṅkti' is an easy misreading for *vanti* and is to be restored as Avanti (reading Sarv = Āvanti instead of Sarvapaṅkti of the text). The list will thus agree with the Maukhari list known to us from inscriptions and Bāṇa.

AMMK
Ājita = Ādityavarmā
Īśana = Īśānavarmā
Sarva = Śarvavarmā
Paṅkti i.e. Avanti = Avantivarmā
Graha = Grahavarmā."

The Maukhari list of kings, preserved in the *Āryamañjuśrī-mūlakalpa*, thus tallies with the known facts of history. And thus on the strength of the evidence of this text we can surmise that Graha, i.e. Grahavarman was succeeded by Suvra (or Suvrata, in the Tibetan version). Our text does not say anything about the relationship between Graha and Suvra. But in the light of the information given by Bāṇa that Grahavarman was the *eldest* son of Avantivarman, we may consider Suvra of the *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa* as the younger son of Avantivarman and the younger brother of Grahavarman, the ill-fated Maukhari ruler of Kanauj. And if such a conjecture is accepted, we may be tempted further to identify him with Suva of the Nalanda seal. In other words, Suva of the Nalanda seal was the son of Avantivarman and his name seems to be preserved in the *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa* as Suvra.

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[13] *Imperial History of India*, p. 27 According to Jayaswal, Ājita of the list is the Prakrit form of Āditya; in other words the name of Ādityavarman, the first Maukhari ruler of importance, is preserved in the list.

What happened just after the death of Grahavarman cannot be said with any amount of certainty. Probably this Suva-Suvra, the younger son of Avantivarman, mounted the throne of Kanauj. After the rescue of Rājyaśrī, Harṣavardhana under the pretext of establishing the claim of the widow of the deceased Maukhari ruler deposed him, occupied the throne of Kanauj and began to rule that country 'in the name of his sister'. Thereafter Suva-Suvra had to confine himself to Magadha, the other and less important part of the Maukhari kingdom and had to keep himself satisfied with the said territory till his death when it passed under the authority of Harṣavardhana some time about A.D. 641. It is also possible that Suva-Suvra as a legal heir to the Maukhari throne, occupied it after the death of his elder brother and Harṣavardhana took some time to oust him from his throne and thereafter began to rule over Kanauj as Rājaputra Harṣa Śilāditya.

KALYAN KUMAR DASGUPTA

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Bhaṭṭotpala: His Date, Life and Writings

Bhaṭṭotpala is well-known as an astronomical writer and as an erudite scholiast of Varāhamihira's works. But no particulars of his personal life are known and the question of his date still awaits a final solution. The fixation of Utpala's date has an important bearing on the dates of several Sanskrit writers quoted by him. In the present paper, therefore, it is proposed to dwell on these problems at some length with a view to arrive at some satisfactory conclusions.

In one of the concluding verses[1] occurring in the manuscripts of his commentary on the *Bṛhajjātaka*, Utpala informs us that he finished it on Thursday, coupled with the 5th day of the bright half of Caitra, in the Śāka year 888[2]:

चैत्रमासस्य पञ्चम्यां सितायां गुरुवासरे ।
वस्वष्टाष्टमिते[3] शाके कृतेयं विवृतिर्मया ॥

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[1] This is the 5th out of seven concluding stanzas.

[2] This verse occurs in Ms. No. 413 of 1881-82, 872 of 1887-91, and 279 of Viśrāmbāg collection in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, in a Ms. noticed in R. L. Mitra's *Notices of Skt. Mss.*, vol. II (1874), p, 166, and in a Ms. in the Bodleian Library; but it is absent in No. 177 of A1882-83, 951 of 1886-92, dated Saṁvat 1855, and in 278 of Viśrāmbāg collection in B. O. R. Institute. My thanks are due to Shri V. M. Bedekar of Poona for supplying this information.

[3] The Ms. noticed by R. L. Mitra gives the reading '*Vasvaṣṭāśvamite*' or A. D. 788. The statement of D. C. Bhattacharya that Śaka 888 current Caitra śukla 5 ended at about 10 hours, Wednesday, 28th February. A. D. 966 is incorrect and his suggestion to amend the reading as '*Vasvaśvāśvamite*' (i. e. Śaka 778) is quite unwarranted. For his view vide *Indian Culture*, XII (1945-46), pp. 81-82.

A similar couplet found at the end of his gloss on the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* gives the date of its completion as Thursday, the 2nd day of the dark half of Phālguna, again in the Śāka year 888[4]:—

फाल्गुनस्य द्वितीयायामसितायां गुरोर्दिने ।
वस्वष्टाष्टमिते शाके कृतेयं विवृतिर्मया ॥

Now, if as usual, the Śāka year 888 is referred to the Śaka era with A.D. 78 as its epoch and is regarded as current (887 expired), we get satisfactory results. Thus, in Śaka 888 current, Caitra śukla 5 began on Thursday, 9th March, A.D. 965, at about 58 *ghaṭis*. 22 *palas* since mean sunrise at Ujjain, and ended on Friday, at about 53 *ghaṭīs*, 52 *palas*. And the *Pūrṇimānta* Phālguna kṛṣṇa 2 in that year began on Wednesday 10th January, A.D. 966, at about 41 *ghaṭīs*, 2 *palas* and ended on Thursday, 11th January, at about 34 *ghaṭīs*, 48 *palas*. Thus we get Thursday, 9th March, A.D. 965 and Thursday 11th January, A.D. 966 respectively for the completion of his scholia on the *Bṛhajjātaka* and the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*[5].

But some scholars have tried to interpret this date in fantastic ways. It has, for instance, been held by some that the Śaka-kāla mentioned by Utpala is identical with the so-called Cyrus Era which is supposed to have commenced in B.C. 551-550[6] in

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4 This verse is found in Mss. Nos. 415 of 1881-82 in the Deccan College Collection and 305 of Viśrāmbāg Collection in B. O. R. Instt., Poona, in No. 247 in the collection of the Bombay Branch of the Asiatic Society (*Catalogue*, vol. I, pp. 82-83), and in No. 364 of Bombay University collection (*Catalogue*, vol, I, p. 149). Also vide *IA*, XIX, p. 41; *JRAS*, First Series, XX, p. 372 note; *JRAS*., N. S. vol. I, p. 410.

5 A list furnished by astronomers of Ujjayinī to Hunter and published by Colebrooke (*Miscellaneous Essays*, vol. II, pp. 461-63) assigns Bhaṭṭotpala to Śaka 890, which is only two years later than these dates.

6 Cf. *JAHRS*, XX, (1949-50), pp. 39-82; *JIH*., XXVIII (1950) pp, 103-110; *JAHRS*, XXI, pp. 1-40; *Journal of the Punjab University Historical Society*, Vol. I, pp. 61-73, 123-136. Mr. Rangarajan (*Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, Fifth Session (1941), p. 164) suggests that Śaka era began in B. C. 523/22 with the first viceroy of India appointed by the Persian emperor.

commemoration of the foundation of the great Persian empire by Cyrus or the latter's incursions into Indian borderland and that consequently Utpala composed his gloss on the *Bṛhajjātaka* in A.D. 339 or 338[7]. But as we have shown elsewhere[8], this theory is quite absurd. There is no evidence to show that Cyrus started any reckoning; and even admitting its existence for a moment, we fail to understand how it came to be known as Śaka-kāla. It is equally inexplicable why this era became so very popular with Indian astronomers whereas it was totally ignored in its founder's home state and even by his own descendants. Moreover, it has been pointed out quite plausibly that the particulars of dates specified above do not agree with the week-day (Thursday) either in A.D. 338 or 339[9].

In the introductory portion of his scholium on the *Bṛhajjātaka*, Utpala quotes four stanzas from what he calls *Bhāskara-siddhānta*, which are identical with *Siddhānta-śiromaṇi*, 1.9-12. He cites another verse from the same work on *Bṛhajjātaka* I. 1. Bhāskarācārya wrote his *Siddhānta-śiromaṇi* in Śaka 1072 or A.D. 1150. Now, if Utpala actually extracted these verses from Bhāskara's work, he must have flourished considerably after A.D. 1150, which is incompatible with the concluding verses of his commentaries on the *Bṛhajjātaka* and the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*. Some account for this discrepancy by emending the reading '*Vasvaṣṭāṣṭamite*' into '*Vasvaṣṭāṣṭimite*', which latter will give us Śaka 1688 as the date of the composition of his commentaries[10]. Absurdity of this suggestion is obvious from the fact that Alberuni, who wrote his account of India in A.D. 1030, repeatedly refers to Utpala[11] and quotes a passage from his gloss on the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*[12]. Again, Utpala is mentioned by Varuṇabhaṭṭa (Śaka 962) in his glosson the *Khaṇḍakhādyaka-karaṇa* of Brahmagupta[13]. References to Utpala are also to be found in another commentary on the *Khaṇḍakhādyaka* composed in Śaka 1564 and in the *Pañcāṅgakautuka* written in Śaka 1567[14]. Mm. P. V. Kane reconciles this discrepancy by suggesting that either Bhāskarācārya took these verses from an older homonymous writer[15] or these verses were really marginal ones noted by some scribe or reader and were later incorporated by copyists in Utpala's commentary itself[16].

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[7] *JIH*, XXVIII, p. 106; *Punjab University Historical Society Journal*, I, pp. 61-73, 123-36. In his *Popular Astronomy*, V. Thiruvenkatachar gives Utpala's date as A. D. 340.

[8] My paper read before 1961 session of Indian History Congress. It is published in Vidarbha Research Society's Annual, 1961, pp, 26-46.

[9] *JIH*., XXXVI, p. 364.

[10] Sitaram Jha (*Bṛhajjātaka* with Utpala's gloss, Banaras 1934) gives the reading as '*Vasvaṣṭāṣṭimite*' and argues:—यतो भास्कराचार्योत्पत्त्यनन्तरं भट्टोत्पलस्योत्पत्तिरिति......तेन वस्वष्टाष्टिमिते १६८८ शाके कल्पयितुं शक्यते, बहुधा लेखकाध्यापकाध्येतृदोषादिकारो भ्रष्ट इति विबुधैर्भृशं विमाव्यम्।

Thus there is no inherent difficulty in admitting that Utpala lived in the second half of the tenth century A.D. Prof. Otto Naugebaurer has, however, recently pointed out in his paper entitled Variants to the Greek translation of Abu Ma'shar's version of the Paranatellonta[17] of Varāhamihira and Teukros,[18] that Abu Ma'shar, who died in A.D. 886, cites a passage concerning the third *decan* of Aries, which belongs to Utpala's commentary and that one must assume that the above date of the composition

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There is nothing to commend V. Subramhanya Sastry's view (*Sārāvali* of Kalyāṇavarman, Bombay 1928, Preface, pp. 1-2) that Utpala lived at the time of the Mughal emperor Jahangir (A. D. 1605-1627).

[11] E. Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, I, pp, 157-58, 298, 334, 336-37, 361, 367.

[12] *Ibid*. p. 298.

[13] S. B. Dikshit, *History of Indian Astronomy* (Marathi), p. 235.

[14] *Ibid*.

[15] We know another Bhāskara who was a direct pupil of Āryabhaṭa and composed *Mahā-Bhāskarīya* and *Laghu-Bhāskarīya*, Vide, P. C. Sengupta, *Khaṇḍakhādyaka* (Engl. tr.), Calcutta, 1934, Preface pp. xiii-xiv.

[16] *JBBRAS*, 1948-49, pp. 30-31. Dr. Kane informs us that these verses are not found in some manuscripts of the commentary.

[17] i. e. arrangement of constellations according to zodiacal signs and *decans* which rise simultaneously or set or culminate simultaneously.

[18] *Bulletin of the Royal Academy of Belgium*, for 1957-58, pp. 133-140.

of Utpala's commentary (Caitra śukla 5, Śaka 888) is incorrect or that Utpala used for this chapter (Ch. 27 of *Bṛhajjātaka*) an older gloss.[19] If Utpala is really quoted by a writer who lived before A.D. 886, the former must have flourished much earlier. Dr. Kane, therefore, rejects the authenticity of this date and states that Utpala cannot be placed later than A.D. 850.[20]

There are, however, good reasons to differ from this last suggestion. The two verses giving the dates in question are found in a large number of manuscripts and cannot therefore be regarded as spurious. Moreover, the date of his commentaries, Śaka 888, is only two years earlier than the one attributed to him (Śaka 890) in a list of astronomers which Hunter procured at Ujjain and was later published by H. T. Colebrooke.[21] The only way of reconciling these discrepant facts is to refer these dates to Vikrama Samvat commencing B.C. 58-57. In Vikrama 888 current, Caitra śukla 5 ended on Thursday, 3rd March, A.D. 830, at about 17 hours, zero minutes, while *pūrṇimānta* Phālguna kṛṣṇa 2 ended on 2nd February, A.D. 831, at about 48 *gh.* and 11 *palas*. The words Śaka and Śāka were used in two senses, viz. (1) the reckoning known after the Śakas, and (2) time-reckoning in general.[21a] And we have instances of the use of the word Śāka to denote Vikrama era.[22] If there still remains some doubt in the validity of our suggestion, it will be eliminated by what Utpala states about the commencement of the Śaka era.[23] 'That time', says he, 'when the barbarian rulers called Śakas were destroyed by the illustrious Vikramāditya is known by the name Śaka'.[24] Thus there can be no doubt whatever that Utpala confused Śaka and Vikrama eras with each other and that he employed the term Śaka to mean Vikrama era.[25] It seems there were several theories in vogue about the origin of the Śaka era in ancient India. In inscriptions dating from Śaka 500 (A.D. 578) onwards it is described as 'the era of the coronation of the Śaka king',[26] 'the era of the Śaka king[27] (or kings)' or simply 'the era of the Śakas'.[28] Brahmagupta[29] and Bhāskara[30] state that the Śaka era started after the end of the Śaka king, although they regard Kali 3179 expired or A.D. 78 as its epoch. Utpala agrees with them in so far as the event which this reckoning commemorates is concerned ; but he is reticent about its epoch. Long ago Dr. H. Kern discussed the aforesaid statement of Utpala and argued that as the above-mentioned dates (Caitra śukla 5, Śaka 888 and Phālguna kṛṣṇa 2, 888) will agree with the week-day, i.e. Thursday, only if they are referred to the Śaka era commencing A.D. 78, the initial point of Utpala's Śaka-kāla must be the same year.[31] But we have seen above that these dates when referred to the Vikrama era yield quite satisfactory results and hence Kern's arguments cannot be taken very seriously.

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[19] Prof. Naugebaurer's arguments are summarised in *JAS.*, Bombay, 1958, pp, 147f.

[20] *Ibid.*

[21] *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol, II pp. 461-63.

[21a] Cf. *Jyotirvidābharaṇa*, IV. 53, X, 110, 111, XXII. 13.

[22] In the Charwa stone inscription of the reign of Devapāladeva of Dhara, line 7, the word Śāka is used to denote Vikrama saṁvat. It belongs to A. D. 1217-18. For some more examples see *IA*, XIX (1890), pp. 24-25, No. 11.

[23] On *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, VIII. 20.

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[24] शका नाम म्लेच्छजातयो राजानस्ते यस्मिन् काले विक्रमादित्यइवेन व्यापादिताः स कालो लोके शक इति प्रसिद्धः । तस्माच्छकेन्द्रकालात् शकनृपवधकालादारभ्य...

[25] Also vide Colebrooke, *Miscellaneous Essays*, II, p, 478.

[26] शकनृपतिराज्याभिषेकसंवत्सरेष्वतीतेषु पञ्चसु शतेषु *IA*, Vol. X, p. 58.

[27] *Śaka-nṛpati-saṁvatsareṣu*, *IA*, VI, p. 73; *Śaka-nṛpa-saṁvatsareṣu*, *IA*., XII, p. 16 ; *Śaka-nṛpa-kāla*, *EI*, III, p. 109.

[28] *Śaka-saṁvat*, *EI*, I, p. 56; *Śaka-varṣa*, *IA*, VI, p. 86 ; *Śaka-kāla*, *IA*, XI, p. 112, etc. See also G. H. Ojha, *Indian Palaeography* (Hindi), p. 171.

[29] *Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta* :—त्रीणि कृतादीनि कलेर्गोगैकगुणाः शकान्तेऽब्दाः ।

[30] *Siddhāntaśiromaṇi* :—नन्दाद्रीन्द्रगुणास्तथा शाकनृपस्यान्ते कलेर्वत्सराः ।

[31] Kern, *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, Preface, pp. 6 ff.

It would be clear from the foregoing discussion that Utpala means by Śāka the era commencing B.C. 58-57 and that he finished his commentaries on the *Bṛhajjātaka* and *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* on 3rd March, A.D. 830 and 2nd February, A.D. 831 respectively. And as such he could have well been referred to by Abu Ma'shar who died in A.D. 886.[32]

II

Alberuni informs us that Utpala was a native of Kashmir[33] and a similar statement is made by Varuṇabhaṭṭa (Śaka 962) in his commentary on Brahmagupta's *Khaṇḍakhādyaka*.[34] Utpala paraphrases the word '*kośa*'[35] or '*kośabhavana*'[36] as '*gañja*'. *Gañja* as the designation of a high state official occurs in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (V. 177) ; *gañjavara* and *gañjapati* in the sense of a treasurer are found in the Mathura inscription of Ṣoḍāsa[37] and in the Taleśvara CP inscription.[38] Again, he explains '*jānukapicche*' by '*ekkalake*',[39] '*mṛdaṅga*' by '*maṇḍala*',[40] '*kṣveḍā*' by '*śoḍanikā*',[41] '*bhṛṅgāra*' by *dāṁdānī-damanī*',[42] '*mokṣaka*' by '*maṇīvaka*',[43] '*śaṅku*' by '*aṅga*',[44] and '*bharadvāja*' (a bird) by

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32 The possibility of referring these dates to Vikrama era was hinted at by Fleet, *IA*, XIX (1890). pp. 41-43; but he left the question open. In the light of the above discussion there can be no doubt that Utpala used 'Śāka' in the sense of Vikrama era; but astronomers of Ujjayinī confused it with the Śaka era with A. D. 78 as its epoch and assigned him to Śaka 890.

33 Sachau, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 157, 298, 334, 336, 367.

34 S. B. Dikshit, *op. cit.*, p. 235.

35 *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* (hereafter referred to as *BS*), XXXIV. 19; LXXXV. 29; XCII. 2; CIII. 61; *Yogayātrā*, I. 17.

36 *BS*, LII. 14. 37 *EI*, IX, p. 247. 38 *EI*, XIII, p. 115.

39 जानुकपिच्छे ये लोके एक्कलके इति प्रसिद्धे, on *BS*, LVII. 17.

40 मृदङ्गो वादिभो मण्डलेति प्रसिद्धः, on *BS*, LXVII. 96.

41 श्वेडा मुखशब्दः शोडनिकेति प्रसिद्धः, on *BS*. LXXXV. 39; *Yogayātrā*, XIV. 3.

42 on *BS*, LXXXVII. 6.

43 यश्च मणीवक इति प्रसिद्धः, on *BS*, LIII, 113.

44 शङ्कुः अङ्ग इति प्रसिद्धो लोके, on *BS*, LIX. 6.

'*lāṭa*'.[45] If these terms could be shown to have been in use in Kashmir in the ninth century A.D., it would lend additional support to Alberuni's statement. We know nothing about Bhaṭṭotpala's parentage. The statements found in the colophons of certain manuscripts that he was a son of Varāhamihira himself[46] and father of Pṛthuyaśas,[47] really the son of Varāhamihira, are quite erroneous. The opening stanza of his commentary on the *Laghujātaka* containing an invocation to Mahādeva shows that he was Śaiva by religion.[48]

III

The *Āryā-saptati*, apparently so called because it contains seventy verses in Āryā metre, is his only extant original work. There is, however, internal evidence to show that its real title was *Praśnajñāna*. Utpala calls it by this name both in the opening[49] and concluding[50] verses of this work as also in his commentary on the *Ṣaṭpañcāśikā* of Varāhamihira's son Pṛthuyaśas (II. 2). It was also known as *Praśnāryā*[51] or *Praśnāryā-saptati*[52] and *Praśnagrantha.*[53] We know from the colophons of some manuscripts that it formed part of Utpala's larger work, the *Jñānamālā.*[54]

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[45] भरद्वाजः पक्षिविशेषः लाटेति प्रसिद्धः on *BS*, LXXXV. 41. Besides, Utpala employs the word '*niṭāla*' for threshold (on *BS*, LII. 26) which must have been in use in Kashmir in Utpala's time.

[46] Cf. the colophon of a manuscript of *Praśnajñāna* noticed by A. Banerji-Sastri in *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Mithilā*, Vol. III. p. 213, No. 184:—इति श्रीवराहमिहिरात्मजभट्टोत्पलेन विरचितं भट्टोत्पलो नाम प्रश्नज्ञानं समाप्तम्. Sir John William's view that Utpala was a son of Varāhamihira seems to have been based on such a misleading statement, cf. *Asiatic Researches*, II, p. 390. For its criticism see Colebrooke, *op. cit.*, II, p. 479.

[47] Some manuscripts of the *Praśnamahodadhi* or *Saṭpañcāśikā* state in their colophons that its author Pṛthuyaśas was a son of Bhaṭṭotpala. Cf. *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Government Oriental Manuscripts Library*, by Kuppuswamy, Madras, 1918, Nos. 13954, 13957, 13959.

[48] प्रणिपत्य महादेवं भुवनगुरुं च लोकेशम् ।
भट्टोत्पलो लघुतरां जातकटीकां करोति शिष्यहिताम् ॥

Colebrooke is wrong in taking the name Utpala to mean stone and his following remarks are unjustified:—"who (Utpala) in several places of his commentary names himself Utpala 'quibbling with simulated modesty on his appellation,' for the word signifies stone;" and "stone (Utpala) frames the raft of interpretation to cross the ocean composed by Varāhamihira." Vide *Misc. Essays*, II, pp. 478-79 and fn. 1.

In his commentary on the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*,[55] Bhaṭṭotpala introduces some verses from one of his own works with the words *tathā cāsmadīya-vacanam.* On *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, LII. 57, he quotes 2½ verses from his own work on architecture with the words *tathā cāsmadīya-vāstuvidyāyām.* These works are no more extant.

Besides, Alberuni attributes some more works to Utpala, viz. (i) *Rāhunrākaraṇa* (probably an error for *Rāhu-nirākaraṇa*), i.e. breaking the Karaṇas, (ii) *Karaṇa-pāta*, i.e. killing the Karaṇas, (iii) *Praśna-gūḍhāmaṇi* (perhaps an error for Praśnacūḍāmaṇi) dealing with *Praśnavidyā*, and (iv) *Srudhava.*[56] But in view of the convention of an astronomer writing only one *Karaṇa*, it seems improbable that Utpala composed two works of this class. The *Praśnagūḍhāmaṇi* may be the same as the *Praśnajñāna* mentioned above. From the *Srudhava* Alberuni has taken some meteorological and chronological notes. But its title is quite strange; it seems Alberuni's account is somewhat confused. All these works except that no *praśna* are now lost.

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[49] वक्ष्येऽहं स्पष्टतरं प्रश्नज्ञानं हिताय दैवविदाम् ।

[50] आर्यासप्तत्येदं प्रश्नज्ञानं समासतो रचितम् ।

[51] *Triennial Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in Govt. Oriental MSS. Library*, Madras, Vol. II, Pt. 1, Sanskrit-A, 1917, p. 1294; Vol. VI, Pt. 1, p. 7197.

[52] *Ibid.*

[53] MS. No. 910 in Sarasvati Bhavan, Banaras, is *Praśnagrantha* of Bhaṭṭotpala. But it is said to contain 100 ślokas. Also BORI, MS. No. 346 of 1879-80; *JBBRAS*, 1948-49, p. 29, fn, 57.

[54] इति श्रीभट्टोत्पलविरचितायां ज्ञानमालायां प्रश्नग्रन्थः समाप्तः, *ibid.*

[55] Ch. II, pp. 35, 64, 65 of Sudhakara Dvivedi's edition.

[56] Sachau, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 157-58, 334, 336, 361.

IV

But Utpala's reputation as an astronomical writer mainly rests on his commentaries, particularly on Varāhamihira's works. He is to Varāhamihira what Mallinātha is to Kālidāsa.[57] His commentaries on both the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* and the *Bṛhajjātaka* are styled *Vivṛti*;[58] but the latter gloss is also known as *Cintāmaṇi*[59] and *Jagaccandrikā*.[60] If we suppose that Utpala began to write his scholium on the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* immediately after that on the *Bṛhajjātaka*, the former would appear to have taken about eleven months for its completion. His gloss on the *Laghu-jātaka* is known as *Hitā* or *Śiṣyahitā*. His commentaries on Varāhamihira's *Yogayātrā*[61] and *Vivāhapaṭala*, on the *Ṣaṭpañcāśikā* of Pṛthuyaśas, and on Brahmagupta's *Khaṇḍakhādyaka* are still extant. Alberuni refers to his commentary on the *Bṛhanmānasa* attributed to Manu,[62] and his gloss *Cintāmaṇi* on the *Bādarāyaṇa-praśna* still exists in manuscript form.[63] On *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, V. 19, Utpala quotes two verses from his commentary on the *Khaṇḍakhādyaka* with the words *tathā ca Khaṇḍakhādyakaraṇe' smadīyavacanam*, indicating that he had finished the *Khaṇḍakhādyaka* commentary before undertaking the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* gloss.

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[57] The severe criticism levelled against Utpala by A. N. S. Aiyangar in Introduction to his *Varāhamihirahorāśāstram* (*Bṛhajjātaka*, Chs. I-X, Adyar Library, pp. XXI-XXV) is quite unjustified and motivated by the desire to prove superiority of his own gloss.

[58] Introductory verse No, 3. of the commentaries.

[59] चिन्तामणिरिति ख्याताटीका शास्त्रज्ञवल्लभा, concluding verse No. 2.

[60] R. L. Mitra, *Notices of Sanskrit MSS.*, Vol. II, p. 166; Aufrecht, *Catalogus Catalogorum*, Vol. I, p. 64.

[61] *Notices of Skt. MSS.*, I, p. 28, No. XLVII; *Catalogue of Skt. and Prakrit MSS in Library of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, pp. 128-29, No. 389.

[62] Sachau, *op. cit.*, I, p. 157.

[63] *Notices of Skt. MSS.*, IV, p. 113, No. 1522; *Report on Skt. MSS. in Bombay Province*, No. 837. It deals with the span of animal life and divination by means of putting questions to persons whose future life has to be foretold.

Utpala was undoubtedly one of the most learned and erudite commentators, and his merits as such are deservedly held high. His commentary on the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* shows his exceptionally wide range of learning combined with a stupendous memory. He quotes a large number of old texts, both in Sanskrit and Prakrit, most of which are no more extant. He possessed a remarkable critical faculty rarely met with in other scholiasts. In order to settle original and correct readings and interpretations of the text he follows scientific methods far in advance of his age: at a number of places he mentions variant readings and refers to the views of earlier commentators ; in order to arrive at correct interpretation of ambiguous passages he followed the sound method of comparing them with the corresponding extracts from the *Saṁhitā* works of more ancient writers ; such citations prove that the *Saṁhitās* attributed to semi-divine personages like Garga, Parāśara, Ṛṣiputra and others, which are no more extant, were still available in Utpala's time. Thus Utpala's commentary on the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* forms the sole source of our knowledge about these and other works.[64] He declares some chapters and verses of the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* to be spurious and later forgeries[65] and gives reasons for doing so. He does not hesitate in confessing his ignorance with a candour scarcely met with in others. Thus, while commenting upon the Gandhayukti section of the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* (Ch. LXXVI), Utpala says that he confines himself only to word-for-word explanation of the text and that he is not quite adept in the art of hair-dyes (*keśa-rāga*) and cosmetics and therefore these matters should be learnt from people skilled in the science.[66] Utpala's commentary is thus extremely helpful in settling the original text and a correct understanding of the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*.

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[64] Many old works like the *Kiraṇākhyatantra* on architecture and Siddhasena's anonymous work on meteorology are known to us from Utpala's commentary alone.

[65] Utpala declares *BS*, XXV. 6, XXVII. 9-10 XXVIII. 17, to be spurious (*anārṣa*). *BS*, XXVIII. 23-24 are left uncommented by him and must be regarded as later addition. He also states that Ch. 27 on Wind-circle (*Vātacakra*) is not of Varāhamihira. He regards Chs. 50 (Aṅgavidyā) and 51 (Piṭaka-lakṣaṇa) as forgeries. Ch. 102 on Marriages is, according to him, composed by Vindhyavāsin. Ch. 38 of V. Subramhanya Sastry's edition is not found in Dvivedi's edition and is spurious.

While the value of Utpala's commentary cannot thus be exaggerated, there are certain deficiencies which should be mentioned in this connection. There were certain institutions current at the time of and consequently familiar to Varāhamihira which had become obsolete in Utpala's time and consequently he could not understand them in a correct perspective. This point may be illustrated by the institution of republican states or *gaṇas* known to Varāhamihira but wrongly interpreted by Utpala as *samūha* or *saṅghāta*, i.e. a group.[67]

Alberuni attributes the following statement to Utpala's commentary of the *Saṁhitā*:—"the names of countries change, and particularly in the *yugas*. So Multan was originally called Yavanapura, then Haṁsapura, then Bagapura (?), then Śāmbapura, and then Mūlasthāna, i.e. the original places, for '*mūla*' means 'original' and '*sthāna*' means place".[68] This statement cannot be traced in the extant text of the commentary. It is possible, therefore, that Utpala's gloss on the *Saṁhitā* has suffered some alteration at the hands of the copyists.

Utpala's commentary on the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* is the only one that is still extant. But at several places in his gloss Utpala refers to older commentaries with the words *iti kecit, kecid evaṁ vyācakṣate, anya evaṁ vyācakṣate, atra kecid vyākhyāvipratipattiṁ codayanti, kecid itīcchanti, atra kecid anyathā vyākhyānaṁ kurvanti, kecid evam manyante, kecid vikalpāṁścodayanti, atra kecin manyante, kecid viśeṣam icchanti, anye punar*

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[66] on *BS*, LXXVI, 4:—पाकवेधगन्धधूपनानि लोकतो ज्ञेयानि । आचार्येण नोक्तानि । अस्माभिर्विस्तरभयान्न प्रदर्शितानि । यतः सकलसंहितास्माभिर्व्याख्यातुमारब्धा केवलमत्राक्षराणां व्याख्या क्रियते । न चास्माकमत्र तथाविधं प्रावीण्यम् ।

[67] e. g. on *BS*, IV, 24; V. 39, 67; X. 13, etc.

[68] Sachau, *op. cit.*, I, p. 298.

vyācakṣate, etc.[69] These references testify to the existence of a large number of commentaries on the *Vārāhī Saṁhitā* in the ninth century A.D. None of these scholia is now available. Several MSS. preserve an abridged version of Utpala's gloss, *Utpala-parimala*, composed by Bhāskara of Naidhruva Kāśyapa gotra, son of Kumāra of Vārṣagaṇya family.[70]

Apart from the original works and commentaries mentioned above, it must be said to the credit of Bhaṭṭotpala that he completed Kalyāṇavarman's *Sārāvalī* which had remained incomplete for at least three hundred years. This is clearly stated in a verse found at the end of some manuscripts of the *Sārāvalī*.[71]

Ajay Mitra Shastri

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[69] Cf. Utpala on *BS*, Ch. II, pp. 20, 66; V. 25; VI. 13; VIII. 2; XI. 7; XXIV. 10; XXVIII. 5; XXXII. 7; XXXV. 3; LII. 73; LXXV. 11; LXVII. 1, 36, 63; LXXXV. 12, 35, 68, 79; LXXXVII. 6; XCV. 16; XCVII. 13.

[70] *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in Govt. Oriental MSS. Library*, Madras, 1918, p. 9173, Nos. 13585-89; *Cat. of Skt. MSS. in Govt.* Oriental Library, Mysore 1922, pp. 329, 643.

[71] वर्षशतानां मध्ये केनचिदित्थं न पूरिता वृता च जनैः ।
भट्टोत्पलस्तु पूर्णां चकार सारावलीं सकलाम् ॥

Cat. of Skt. & Prakrit MSS. in Bombay University Library, Vol. I, 1944, p. 198, No. 476.

Interesting Kuṣāṇa Terracottas and Sculptures from Rajasthan

The discovery of a number of interesting Kuṣāṇa antiquities from different parts of Rajasthan has got an important bearing on the contemporary plastic art of the country. It is therefore proposed to present a summary thereof for the perusal of scholars and students of ancient Indian Iconography.

Terracottas from Āhār, near Udaipur

Archaeological excavations by the author of the paper at Āhār[1], ancient Āghāṭapur near Udaipur Railway Station, brought to light a number of Kuṣāṇa terracotta objects such as, Votive tank pieces, beads, lid-cum-bowls, a dancing female torso with prominent breasts and seated Kubera, holding a citron-fruit in left hand and money-bag in the right. These objects are on display in the recently started Archaeological Museum at Āhār itself.

Terracottas from Jaipur-Bikaner Regions[2]

The ancient sites of Sambhar, Rairh, Nagar...etc., in Jaipur region also yielded very interesting objects in this direction, most important being the terracotta plaques from Rairh and depicting goddess Vasudhārā holding one or two fish in one of her hands as also in the Suṅga and Kuṣāṇa art of Mathura (K. N. Puri, *Excavations at Rairh*, pl. XIII, b., d). The depiction of a *labaṅgā* as nether-garment in the Kuṣāṇa terracottas from Rairh (*Ibid*, pls. XII, XIV) is well corroborated by contemporary finds from different parts of the country. The late-Kuṣāṇa or early-Gupta terracotta reliefs from Bikaner region too present this device in an elegant manner (*Lalit Kalā*, No. 8, pp. 55-68). The terracotta plaque of an elephant—faced Yakṣī (*Excavations at Rairh*, pl. XIV, F) and *Vṛikṣakā* from the Rairh (*Ibid*, pl. XV, a), both in standing pose, are noteworthy.

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[1] *Indian Archaeology—A Review* 1954-55, pp. 14-15; *Ibid.*, 1956-57, p. 8; *Ibid*, 1957-58, pp. 28, 44.

[2] A number of such plaques are preserved in Āmber Museum. They require careful and scientific study.

Dwarfish Yakṣa figures, drummers, votive-tank pieces...... etc., in terracotta art from Sambhar are equally important (D. R. Sahni, *Excavations at Sambhar*, pls. VI-VII), specially a goat-headed person (pl. VI, b); headless person seated on a stool or chair in European fashion (pl. VI, d) as also in a contemporary terracotta statue from Noh—Bharatpur and deposited by me in the Central Directorate of Archaeology, Rajasthan Govt., at Jaipur, bears close resemblance with Mathura finds (*JUPHS.*, old series, IX (i), fig. 47).

A tiny 'Kaolin' plaque from Nagar (ancient (*Mālava-Nagara*) and now in Amber Museum as No. 220 presents a simple wheel (*cakra*) in the left hand of Viṣṇu and a collosal mace (*gada*) in the right hand as also in the contemporary 'kaolin' plaque from Kalibangān and now in Bikaner Museum.[3] The crown of Kālībaṅgān Viṣṇu reminds us of typical Kuṣāṇa crowns in the *Bodhisattva* figures. The use of V-shaped necklaces in late Kuṣāṇa or early Gupta Terracottas from Raṅgamahal—Bikaner is also reminiscent of Kuṣāṇa art traditions in Bikaner region.

Excavations at Raṅgamahal (near Suratgarh, N. Bikaner) by Dr. Rydh brought to light rich material pertaining to the Kuṣāṇa period, so much so that it has been styled as a separate cultural complex i.e. *Raṅgamahal Culture* (Hanna Rydh, *Rangamahal*, Lund—Sweden, 1959). The site of Raṅgamahal was mainly settled during the reign of Kaniṣka III. Noteworthy Kuṣāṇa terracotta finds from Raṅgamahal include a number of goat-eyed heads as also from Ghosī and Ahicchatrā, a unique terracotta bowl presenting portraits of foreigners (*Ibid*, p. 158, pl. 73.) and a number of typical sprinklers (*Ibid.*, pls. 49-51) of fine workmanship.

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[3] Cf. illustrated article of R. C. Agrawala, Unpublished Sculptures & Terracottas from Rajasthan in the *Journal of Indian History*, Trivendrum, under print Aug. 64, figures 2 to 5 respectively.

The use of the *lahaṅgā* or skirt in the Kuṣāṇa terracotta art of Rajasthan is very important. It was *during the Kuṣāṇa period only that the female skirt first appeared in India*, probably due to the impact of the foreigners (Moti Chandra, *Journal of Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Calcutta, VIII, 1940, p. 213, fig. 87; R. C. Agrawala's paper in *Mārg*, *Indian Terracottas Number*). The movement of foreign tribes from West, via Sindh and Rajasthan and the contacts of Bikaner region with Sindh & Panjab should be held responsible for the depiction of skirt in the early art of Rajasthan.

The survival of V-shaped necklaces in the Bikaner Terracottas (now in Bikaner Museum) also bears testimony to the impact of Kuṣāṇa art devices during the late-Kuṣāṇa or early-Gupta period in North Bikaner.

A Unique Four-faced Śiva Liṅga[4] *from Nānda, near Puṣkara*

During my exploratory tours in Ajmer region, Sri U. C. Bhattacharya showed me a unique life-size Śiva-liṅga, in situ, in a field near Nānda, distant about 15 miles from Ajmer on Puṣkara-Merta bus route. Hewn out of the typical red sandstone, it is an important relic of the 2nd-3rd century A. D. *Such a four-faced and life-size Śiva-liṅga has not been reported as yet.* The whole column, facing the four cardinal directions, has been profusely carved and divided into a number of panels one upon the other from top to bottom. The uppermost figure, on all the sides, is that of *Ūrdhvameḍhra Lakulīśa*, seated in a squattish fashion and shown with his penis erect. The crowns of the male figures in the panels below closely resemble the typical Kuṣāṇa *mukuṭas* of the Bodhisattvas and so also is the depiction of V-shaped necklaces and *abhaya* pose in most of the Nānda figures under review. This is further corroborated by hundreds of Kuṣāṇa finds from Mathura region. Still more interesting is the bust of two-armed Viṣṇu holding a simple wheel in left hand and a typical unblossomed lotus with a long stalk in the right hand, in the lowermost panel of Nānda-liṅga under scrutiny. Here too we notice the typical Kuṣāṇa crown and the V-shaped necklace. In fact the existing *caturmukha-liṅga* from Puṣkara region of Rajasthan is a sublime product of Indian artistic genius.

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[4] Consult my illustrated paper in *Journal of Indian History*, Aug. 1964, Fig. 1.

Antiquities from Bharatpur Region

Reference to a headless terracotta statue from Noh[5] and now in the Central Directorate of Archaeology & Museums Rajasthan at Jaipur has already been made above. Another Kuṣāṇa tiny stone statue, from this place and now in Bharatpur Museum, presents some horse-faced Yakṣī in seated pose in European fashion. The depiction of animal-faced Yakṣa-Yakṣī figures from Rairh, Sambhar, Noh......etc., is equally important from iconographic point of view. The Gupta panel from Maṇḍor and now in Jodhpur Museum depicts the *Govardhana* Mountain haunted by a horse-faced (*aśvamukhī*) Yakṣī as a '*Forest Goblin*' whereas the Bikaner relief presents one legged and goat-faced *Ajaikapāda* in the early Gupta art and that is unique.

My exploratory tours in the vicinity of Noh—Bharatpur also proved very fruitful when I recovered, for Bharatpur Museum, a well preserved stone relief carved out of the typical white-spotted red sand-stone and measuring about 9 inches in width and 8 inches in height. Here can be seen four Bodhisattva type male figures standing side by side in an identical manner, putting on similar dress and ornaments including V-shaped necklaces and typical Kuṣāṇa crowns ; each of them appears in identical pose and holds a water pot in left hand while the right hand has been raised up in *abhaya* pose (R. C. Agrawala, *Journal of Indian History*, 38 (i), April 1960, pp. 191-192, plates I-II and *Artibus Asiae*, Ascona—Switzerland, XXII (3), pp. 205-7, plate, 7). The pose and the arrangement of hands in the existing Noh relief remind us of contemporary *Maitreya* figures but it is not possible to identify them with definiteness. They may be the four *Lokapālas* or the main guardians of four cardinal directions (*catur-dikpālas*). Contemporary reliefs of this very type, from the neighbouring region of Mathura[6], have been preserved in the Archaeological Museum at Mathura, Asutosh Museum of Calcutta University and Volkerkünde Museum at Leiden[8]—Holland. It is earnestly hoped that art critics will throw more light on the exact identification of Noh and Mathura reliefs under scrutiny.

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[5] Distant about 4 miles from Bharatpur on Agra Road. The life-size Yakṣa statue, in situ at Noh, bears close resemblance with Parkhām Yakṣa statue in Mathura Museum. Explorations in Bharatpur region have yielded a number of Painted Grey Ware mounds as at Noh.

The Museum at Mathura also preserves a tiny stele (8" height) showing a somewhat blurred a male figure from Bharatpur and seated in the manner of Sūrya figures of Kuṣāṇa period. The former holds a water-pot in left hand; the right hand has been raised up in the *abhaya* pose; a staff appears near his left arm, very probably referring to the *Lakulīśa* (?) aspect of Śiva. The figures of attendants, on both sides, are equally interesting (No. 4497 of Mathura Museum; cf. *Consolidated Report of the Archaeological Museum at Mathura*, 1955 *to* 1959, Lucknow, 1961 p. 46. pl. VI). The *ūrdhvameḍhra* pose of Śiva in the late-Kuṣāṇa or early-Gupta Śiva-Pārvatī terracotta relief from Rangamahal (Bikaner) is also important and also the top figures seated in squattish fashion in the Kuṣāṇa *linga* from Nānda discussed above. *The cult of Lakulīśa was quite popular during the Kuṣāṇa period, a fact which is very well corroborated by numerous contemporary sculptures and reliefs from U. P. and Rajasthan.*

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[6] V. S. Agrawala, *JUPHS.*, Old Series, Lucknow, 23 (1950), pp. 139, 136 and 140; reliefs nos. 939, 2102, 734,......etc.

[7] R. C. Agrawala, *Journal of Indian History*, 38 (i), p. 191, pl. II; no. T. 1639 of Asutosh Museum.

[8] Inscribed fragmentary relief; J. Ph. Vogel, *Cultureel Indie*, Dutch, Leiden, 1942, IV, pp. 237-40 and photo on p. 238.

[9] Preserved by me in Bharatpur Museum in December, 1961. I am thankful to Dr. Satya Prakash for the permission to undertake tour to this place as well.

Equally noteworthy is the extensive mound at Aghāpura, distant about 7 miles from Bharatpur. Here I discovered several sherds of painted Grey Ware and two Kuṣāna sculptures[9] of white-spotted red sand-stone. Besides this, the Bharatpur Museum preserves some more important contemporary sculptures from the same site such as: —

(a) The fragmentary Lion-Capital consisting of two lion figures only.

(b) A beautiful pot-bellied *tuṇḍila* and dwarfish (*vāmana*) Yakṣa statue wherein the male figure lifts a basket or a *kuṇḍikā* on his head above. He has got prominent moustaches on his face. The sculpture is wrongly described as a piece of 'Suṅga period' in the *Catalogue of Bharatpur Museum*, 1961, pl. III. In fact it is a typical Kuṣāṇa statue of superb workmanship.

(c) A collosal pillar like (5 feet in height) Śiva-liṅga with a single male face attached to the front top portion. The crown here is typically Kuṣāṇa. This *Eka-mukhī*[10] Śiva-liṅga is also a sublime product of Kuṣāṇa art and has been wrongly described as a Śuṅga specimen in the *Catalogue of Bharatpur Museum*, 1961, pl. II. Explorations and excavations in Bharatpur region are likely to yield very rich material having an important bearing on the ancient art of the region.

It was in the year 1963-64 that I excavated the ancient site of Noh itself, with the result that a number of interesting Kuṣāṇa sculptures and terracottas could see the light of the day. Besides this, we could excavate several contemporary brick structures, floors with white spotted stone *okhalīs*......etc., in addition to votive-tank pieces and Kuṣāṇa pottery. A separate note on these finds will soon be published for the perusal of art critics and scholars. Noteworthy is a unique painted terracotta Bird in Grey Ware from the lower levels at Noh itself. The lines in black, on this Grey Ware Bird, bear close resemblance with contemporary typical devices in the realm of ceramic industry. In fact this is a rare terracotta piece in Indian Art though the depiction of any human figure in Grey Ware Culture is conspicuous by its absence at the present moment.

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[10] The Museum at Bikaner preserves a beautiful late-Kuṣāṇa or early Gupta *Ekamukhī Śiva-liṅga* in the form of a moulded brick. Here we notice the attendant figures on the sides, a fact which is absent in the Aghāpura collosal *Liṅga* under reference. Both of them are much better than identical and contemporary specimens from Mathura region.

The discovery of a number of third century A.D. *Yūpa* pillars from Nāndasā, Baḍawā, Barnālā, Nagar,...etc; has got an important bearing on the contemporary art of carving collosal stone pillars under the mighty influence of Vedic religion (cf. Dr. A. S. Altekar's papers in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. 23, pp. 43 ff; and vol. 27, pp. 263 ff; B. C. Chabra's paper in *Indica Antiqua*, Leiden—Holland, 1947, pp. 77-82). The survival of Kuṣāṇa art traditions in the late-Kuṣāṇa or early-Gupta terracotta reliefs from Bikaner region is also important. *Contacts with Mathura and Gandhāra artists are evident at a mere glance.* Let us await Kuṣāṇa or even earlier finds from the regions of Jodhpur,[11] Kotah[12] and Jhālāwār,[13] Dungarpur, Banswara, Pratapgarh as well.

R. C. Agrawala

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[11] Gupta stone pillars from Maṇḍora & now in Jodhpur Museum are also worth careful scrutiny. *The bangles on the fore-arms of female figures therein suggest the survival of Kuṣāṇa art traditions in Mārwār.*

[12] Late Gupta Temple at Darrā, on way to Jhālāwār, is also an important architectural relic of Kotah region.

[13] Gaṅgadhāra in Jhālāwār region is an important Gupta site, just on the bank of river Kāli Sindha. Here I discovered terracotta Ring-wells as also at Āhār, Dāraulī near Udaipur, Rairh......etc. Exploration work in Jhālāwār region may yield very interesting sculptures and terracottas of pre-Gupta period. I could also discover typical Black and Red Ware here at Gaṅgadhāra. The river Kālī Sindha is a tributary of the river Chambal and hence the finds are quite natural.

Vijayapuri—the Capital of Ikṣvākus of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa

Nāgārjunakoṇḍa is in the Palnad taluk of Guntur district, 14 miles from Macherla (presently a small town by road). In 1926, Suraparaju Venkaṭaramaiah, a school teacher of Macherla accidentally saw a statuary and reported his discovery to the then Madras Government. After a year the site was excavated by Longhurst[1] for three years from 1927 to 1731, later followed by Ramachandran[2] in 1938. Their field of activity was confined only to a limited area and resulted in the discovery of many Buddhistic edifices containing numerous sculptures and inscriptions. Thereon the site was widely known for its cultural wealth and attracted the attention of many scholars.

Of late the site has been rendered more famous by a Nāgārjunasagardam which threatened the submergence of the entire area, As a consequence, once again, it has become the venue of the archaeologists.

The large scale excavations conducted during the years 1954-1960, by a band of scholars under the able stewartship of Dr. R. Subrahmanyam brought to light many interesting things. Of special significance is the complete lay out of a big city called 'Vijayapurī'.

Epigraphical Corroborations

More than half a dozen inscriptions repeatedly dragged the attention of scholars to the city name 'Vijayapurī'. In an apsidal[3] temple inscription found on the hill Śrī Parvata (now locally known as Nallaraḷḷabodu) the spot is located as

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[1] A. H. Longhurst, "The Buddhist Antiquities of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa" Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India., No. 54. No. 54. (1938.)

[2] T. N. Ramachandran, "Nāgārjunakoṇḍa 1938." Mem. Arch. Survey of India, No. 71. (1953.)

Line. 2—Siripavate Vijayapurīya-Puvadisa—Bhāge vihare chula-Dhammagiriyam. 'The chula—(small) Dharmagiri vihāra on the Śrīparvata, east of Vijayapurī.[4]

Apparently the location fitted in every sense to this city which is just over a mile directly west to the Śrīparvata. Not only this record, but more recently in another pillar inscription from a stūpa site, (stūpa No. 9),[5] very close to the fortification, it is stated.

Line. 6. ....Siriparvata

Line. 7. Vijayapurī Aparamahavina Seliyanam. 'Aparamahā Vináśēliyam (a vihāra of Buddhistic sect) of Śriparvata Vijayapurī' thus confirming its situation once again.[6]

Another record from Amaravatī[7] a renowned Buddhistic centre in Guntur district; stating the erection of a coping stone by a merchant's wife 'Vaṇiyini' who is the daughter of a 'chada' or 'chandra' living at 'Vijayapura' is interesting and from this, it is evident that the entire Nāgārjunakoṇḍa was known by the name of 'Vijayapurī' in the 3rd. and 4th. centuries A.D.

Citadel and[8] *Surroundings* (Fig. I).

The present excavations which were conducted on most systematic and scientific grounds covered the entire area. The citadel with its grand fortification wall, ditch, gates and barracks was indeed a very important one as it threw light on the town planning and revealed the most flourishing condition of the capital of Ikṣvākus during the 3rd century A.D.

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[3] Dr. Vogel, "Epigraphia Indica," Vol. XX. p. 22. Inscription F.

[4] *Ibid*, Plate IV-Section I, Line 2.

[5] Indian Archaeology 1957-58., A review. pp. 8-9 Also Ind. Arch. 1958-59. p. 6. PL. IV-A.

[6] I am grateful to Dr. R. Subrahmanyam, the Superintendent of the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa excavations for giving this information.

[7] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. X. p. 153.

[8] *Ind. Arch.* 1958-59., pp. 8-10.
Ibid., 1957-58., pp. 5-8. Fig. 4.

The citadel wall enclosing a trapezoidal area of about 3000 × 2000 ft., ran along the right bank of the river Krishna (at a distance of 350 ft. from it) on the west, while on the south it surrounded the hill 'Peddakundelugutta' at a height of 170 ft; on the east its maximum extent height was 16 ft. above the surrounding plains. The north side portions are particularly damaged but the remnants afford that it was connected all round by a huge brick wall of roughly 16ft. height, over the heaped gravely rampart. The earth for the rampart was dug by its outer side very closely, and thus a deep cut into the natural soil resulted which later served as a ditch to the fortification. On the eastern, western and partly on the northern sides it was surrounded by this huge ditch of 74 ft. to 132 ft. in width, with an average 12 ft. depth but still deeper at the crucial points. The ditch was always filled with water is quite apparent from the excavated cross[9] sections which showed silted soil and the settled compact clay in wavy bands.

The huge brick fortification wall was built of super-strong bricks measuring 20″ × 9½″ × 2-3/4″ breakable only by a crow bar even today.

Wherever the wall had a strong hold, so to say, encircled a hill or a high ground it was built right on the bed-rock itself, but in the rest of the places, (i.e. eastern and western sides), first a rampart of morrum or mud of about 80 ft. wide at the base was raised to a little over 12 ft. height over the present ground level and thereon the massive brick wall was built.

The cuttings marked as A, B, C, D, E, F, across[10] the defences revealed two constructional stages—the first or lower phase was represented by a rampart of morrum resting on the natural soil; the second being the construction and widening at some places of the brick wall over this raised ramp.

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[9] *Ibid.*, 1957-58 PL. II-A. Trench across the western defences of the Citadel.

[10] *Ibid.*, 1958-59; p. 10 PL. VII-B.

The fortification was provided with two entrances leading to the palace area—one at the eastern side adjoining the hillock Peddakundelugutta, and the other on the western side almost at the centre near the Aśvamedha site. Interesting is a narrow postern gateway[11] on the northern side, possibly serving as an emergency secret passage. The entrances are sufficiently wide to allow two chariots at a time and were possibly closed with wooden gates as evidenced from the heavy door sockets provided on either side of the gateways.

Entering from the eastern gate we come across with stables and barracks and some minor rubble and brick structures which were possibly meant for the cavalry and royal guards. Similarly on the northern and south western corners several guard rooms were exposed and in particular the northern region seems to be closely guarded as the cluster of small chambers and stables for animals are concentrated. Important finds included, elephant chains of iron, small water tubs built of bricks etc.

In the central region of the fortified area (not shown in fig. 1) several fragmentary brick structures in a badly preserved state were exposed which were apparently dormitories for the royal retinue. A good number of residential buildings in the vicinity of Chinnakundelugutta and west of it also served a similar purpose and interesting is a private bath which is fortunately well preserved. It is evidently a suit attached to a big building of a royal personage but the rest of the structure is in deplorable state.

Aśvamedha Site[12]

The biggest establishment inside the fortification is the Aśvamedha site. Immediately after the western gateway there are several distinctive ritualistic structures forming part of this huge establishment, enclosed by a massive compound wall.

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[11] *Ibid.*, 1957-58. p. 5. PL. II-B.

[12] *Ibid.*, 1956-57. p. 37.

One such is a square well plastered brick tank[13] measuring 27 ft. × 27 ft, × 8 ft. 6 inches a four tyred structure with the bottom of 6 ft. 4 inches square and with short side steps on its flanks at each level. Curiously enough, a drain was provided at the top tyre at a height of 7 ft. which was connected down to a closed well built drain to a distance of 100 yards and thereon led off by a narrow slab-covered drain to the river. This feature is itself indicative that the water level within the tank was to be maintained at a specific level tallying with that of a 'pūruṣākāra' (human height) and that the sacred water either overflown or removed from it should go untouched to the river Krishna. Another factor is that the water is to be brought and filled from the river as that is the only source. This has been correctly identified as a tank meant for purificatory 'avabhritha' bath by the performer of an 'Aśvamedha Yāga'.

Its ritual association is further proved by the occurrence of several animal bones and in particular of a complete horse skeleton, less than 30 ft. away outside the tank but within the same enclosure. Other fragmentary skeletons burried near it included that of a goat and a dog.[14]

Another curved brick structure resembling that of a tortoise[15] a few yards south of the above tank is unique. It has been built in two tyres, the top cross measuring 18 ft. × 12 ft. and its over all depth was 4 ft. 6 inches. The head projection is shown towards west and in the outer finish also it was exactly modelled after a 'kūrma.' This can be taken as 'Kūrmachiti' or alter as its peculiarly narrow dimensions and deliberate shape suggested. Many small square brick cells with ashes and burnt coal were found which were apparently 'Āhavanīyās' and alters for the preludial ceremonies and propitiatory rites connected to the bigger 'Aśvamedha' sacrifice.

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[13] *Ibid.*, PL. IV-A.

[14] *Ibid.*, 1956-57 PL. LVI-A. The author had the privilege of being directly associated with this excavation.

[15] *Ibid.*, PL, LV-B.

The shape and sizes of the above structures such as Avabritha tank, Kurma-chiti, and other smaller Āhavanīyās, are significantly in agreement with the vedic prescriptions laid down in "yajñatatva prakāśika."[16] Almost in all the epigraphs at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa Māhārāja Śrī Chāṇtamūla the founder of the Ikṣvāku dynasty was invariably referred to as 'Bahu Suvarṇaka yāginaḥ.

"Ragño Vāśiṣhti putrasya Agniṣṭhoma-Vājapeyāśvamedha bahu suvarṇaka yāginaḥ Aṇāka Hiranya koti pradātuḥ svaviryārjita vijaya keerthāh Ikṣvākūṇām Śrī Chāntamūlasya."[17]

Structures in the vicinity:

The palacial buildings comprised of two areas one within the fortified area (described above) and the rest outside the fortification but very close to it. At the northern fringes of Nāgārjuna hill and along the Krishna bank on the west.

Palace:[18]—The first unit is a spacious palace built of marble like polished limestone pillars and roofed with possibly wood and tiles. While digging this huge pillared hall, Longhurst, the earlier excavator found five very handsome stone pillars containing elaborate ornamentation and curious semi-classical subjects portrayed on their shafts. Two of these pillars are pertinently significant as a Scythian bearded soldier wearing a Roman like helmet, a quilted long sleeved tunic and trucers, holding a heavy spear in his left hand, was carved. The figure is quiet un-Indian and the style of clothing is purely alien. By virtue of their occurrence near the entrance of this pillared hall it may fairly be deduced that the Ikṣvāku kings in their palatial buildings employed foreign guards. This is undoubtedly a royal resort as the vicinity gave colour to its existence.

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[16] A. Chinnaswamy Sastry "yajñatatvaprakāśika" (Madras. 1953) pp. 115-120.

[17] *Ibid*.. 1956-57. PL. LVIII. Lines 3 & 4. The record is excellently well preserved over this huge limestone pillar.

[18] Longhurst. op. cit., p. 11. PL. VIII-C.

[19] Longhurst. op. cit., PL. IX, A, B, C, D. PL. X. A, B, C, D.

Mahādeva Temple:—Just a few yards west of this hall a temple with a 'garbha gṛha' (shrine proper) housing the god Mahādeva called 'Puṣpabhadrasvāmi' was exhumed. Besides, a pillar of 14 ft. high surmounted with a capital was also found in front on which a lengthy inscription,[20] running in ten lines of Brahmi script—the language being literary Sanskrit, recorded the erection of this temple and the pillar bearing this record named as 'Dhvajastambha' for the first time. This unit is evidently a later addition to the bathing ghat as it was constructed during the 16th regnal year of the third Ikṣvāku king Ehavula Chāṇtāmūla assignable to 320. A.D.

Bathing Ghat[21]:—(PLATE. I). The splendour of the royalty is sustained in the bathing ghat which is in an excellant state of preservation despite its closeness to the river withstanding its frequently ferocious attacks. One will be struck with wonder at the great engineering skill of the builders of this huge structure some 18 centuries ago.

The first wing of this ghat, included a stepped and balustrated approaching to the river Krishna and the other a lengthy continuation of zig-zag stepped embankment towards north at a lower level. This wing had four balustrated, main decents into the river with slight variations in their respective levels. This type of arrangement seems to have been made in accordance with the water levels of Krishna during all the seasons and specially when in floods the main frontal wing of the ghat was under use.

The entire structure was built of heavy well burnt bricks covered with a super-strong lime mortar rivalling even that of the Romans and not an inch of this structure is left uncovered by the marble like polished Cuddapah slabs. The steps leading down to the river bed flanked by balustrades were ornamented with auspicious motifs like 'Makaras' and 'elephants with raised trunks' as though inviting us.

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[20] *Ibid.*, 1956-57. P. 36. PL. LVIII.

[21] *Ibid.*, 1955-56. pp. 25-26 PL. XXXVIII. (This is reproduced here as plate I.).

A characteristic feature is that the height of the steps in no case exceeded more than 3″ to 4″ which were obviously meant for the tender feet of the queens and princess. True! They could not have afforded a far stretched steps uncovered with these slippery slabs. Thus this bathing ghat might be justifiably called as 'queens Bathing ghat' (never I venture to say that kings not joined them). The later addition of a Mahādeva shrine to this grand structure shows that the royal folk happily combined the pleasure and prayer in equal doses.

Stadium[22]

The biggest and most elaborate among all the structural establishments at Vijayapurī is the 'stadium' which is of course, out of the fortified area but very close to it, on the north-western corner. It is a gigantic oblong structure consisting of a central arena of 390 ft. × 260 ft. enclosed on all the four sides by flights of steps with 2 ft. wide treads and an elevated pavilion on the west. Three galleries like broad steps were provided on all the sides of the stadium which are not evidently steps for getting down but intended for the public viewers. Each has a height of 2 ft. 5 inches thus enabling a comfortable repose. There was a platform of 10 ft. width all round in continuation of the topmost step. On the southern side six staircases placed at regular intervals, each measuring six feet width connected the area floor and the platforms.

The western side[23] was provided specially with a pavilion of 84 ft. × 39 ft. at a later stage and was covered by high roof supported by huge wooden pillars not more than six or eight on each side. This central pavilion had four rooms on the four corners and in the mid region a big moonstone built of bricks and possibly covered with a slab was provided with a special roof as indicated from the post-holes along the apse of the structure. It is evident from the very location and eloquence of the structure that it was meant for the royalty to view from an elevation, the functions going on in the arena. The four special rooms were possibly meant for the queens and the central moonstone was the seat that of the ruling king. An entry into the floor of the arena was provided through broad balustrated steps which were exceptionally well plastered facing on either sides of the pavilion but at a much lower level. A big wall ran on the western high ground serving as an enclosure for this wing with an entrance on the west.

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[22] *Ibid.*, 1957-58. pp. 5-8.

[23] *Ibid.*, 1957-58, PL. III, IV-A.

Save this portion the entire stadium is an open air one. The floor is rammed with murrum. A deep drain was provided on the north-western side which carried the rain water to the river without causing damage to the nearby structures. Leaving apart both treads and raisers of the staircases on the southern and western sides (which were intended to get down into the arena ground) we can estimate that at least the rest of the stair-cases were gallaries all round accommodating more than a two thousand audience. While excavating the arena proper good number of animal skeletons, particularly that of elephants were found. The ground was marked with vertical slabs and fixed stones indicative of the probable nature and method of the pastimes. It is clear that some animal fights and army exhibits of chivalry were programmed as amongst the royal pleasures. Here mention must be made of a remarkable find (Fig. 2.) i.e., a limestone lotus medallion.[24] On its obverse a wrestling scene is depicted with full of dynamism and vigour. The reverse has a dancing dwarf figure. This itself is sufficient to prove that wrestling was also one of the open air amusements that attracted keen attention of the people.

We can draw an anology from a Roman King Hadrianus of 2nd century A.D. of whom we have a very vivid data about his maddening pleasures through the Roman gladiators. Since the monarchs Chāṇtamūla and Vīrapuruṣadatta belonged to a period around that date, and since we have all relative evidences of a close Roman contact we can be certain that this type of secular games were also the result of that cultural impact. It also indicates the splendour and prosperity of the royalty.

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[24] *Ibid.*, 1957-58 p. 8. PL. VI.

Kārtikeya Tēmples:

In between the river and the western fortification wall all along the bank more than a half dozen Brahmanical temples were found. Important among them were 'Kartikeya' temples. The most elaborate one is that of a 'Sarvadevadhivāsam'[25] with a main shrine of 'Kārtikeya' the war God Skanda, son of Śiva. The repeated occurrence of particularly the shrines of Kārtikeya in this area and the epithet 'Virupākṣapati Mahāsena Parigrihita' applied to Mahārāja Śrī Chaṇtamūla in the Ikṣvāku epigraphs go without saying that the kings were strict adherents to Brahmanical faith and worshipped deities like Mahāsena, Mahādeva Puṣpabhadrasvami, Aṣṭhabhuja etc., and built temples on a grand scale. It is a curious thing to note that while the ladies of the royal family vividly patronised the Buddhistic order and built innumerable stūpas, monasteries, vihāras and chetiya grihas throughout the valley, the kings followed brahmanism and never directly associated themselves with any Buddhistic monument. Nevertheless it is a naked fact that they had utterly tolerated, on the other hand the spread of Buddhism which covered the masses like wild fire. In a highly diplomatic way the Ikṣvāku monarchs seem to have encouraged the female folk materially, to build so many Buddhistic āśramas probably to gain huge public support. Indeed this is a rare instance in the history.

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[25] *Ibid.*. 1956-57 p. 36. PL. LIV-A. Also PL. LX. The inscriptions recovered in this huge pillared hall, with a shrine and Dhvajastambha are in pure Sanskrit written in verse and in Sragdhāra and Anuṣṭubh metres. They speak that the temple was (Śrī Kārtikeya Prāsadāt) of Kartikeya, the Lord of Virupākṣhas, son of Śiva, and hence was the abode of all divinities—"Sarvadevādhivāsaṃ."

Dock-yard[26]

Mention must be made of another distinctive feature on the river side zone. A heavy brick embankment all along the stretch with a special "U" shaped dock like recessing near the western gate of the citadel afforded an interesting data. It can be fairly assumed that the city of Vijayapurī was connected to the outer world by the river route also. Further light is thrown by its extensive contact with the ports of Ceylon and the inscription on the floor of the Apsidal temple on Śrīparvata bears testimony by referring to the donation of the Caitya griha and dormitories for the Buddhist monks from far off countries like "Kāśmira- āndhara-China-Chilata-Tōsali-Avaranta-Vaṅga Vanavāsa-Yavana-Damila-Pālūra".[27]

Foreign contracts

Megasthenese (300 B.C.) and Pliny (77 A.D.) describe the might of the Āndhradēśa and its thirty-five fortified towns. Ptolemy[28] (140 A.D.) in his 'periplus of Erytherean sea' described the Krishna delta as 'Maisolia' the greek name for Krishna and in particular speaks of a region 'Masalia' stretching a long distance along the coast before the "Island Country" which has been correctly identified by scholars as the present day Masulipatnam. He also mentioned an emporium 'Kantiksola or Kantikossula' on the east coast of the river after the mouths of 'Maisolas'. The place name 'Kamtakasela' Skt. Kanta Kasaila (the present Ghantasela) was found in Śrīparvata inscription[29] of Bodhisiri wherein she refers to have built a stone maṇḍapa at the eastern gate of Mahācaitya. Other ancient market towns finding frequent mention were Dhannakaṭaka (present Dharanikoṭa) Kevurura, Vijayapura, (Nāgārjunakoṇḍa) and Narasāla.

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[26] *Ibid.*, 1956-57, p. 36. Still recent excavations have further thrown light on this unique feature along the river side zone and it is clear that a passage like recessing was specially provided near the western gateway of the citadel, for the entry of the ships.

[27] *EP. Ind.*, vol. XX. Inscription F. p. 22 Line I.

[28] J. W. McCrindle's "Ancient India as described by Ptolemy" p. 66. Cf. Ramachandran op. cit., pp. 1-2.

[29] *EP. Ind.*, vol. XX. Inscription F. p. 22. Section 3. Line 3.

Both Longhurst and Ramachandran agreed that "in all probability the Krishna was a much bigger river then, than now affording easy navigation down to the sea at all seasons of the year".[30]

The inscriptions recovered from various Buddhistic monasteries show that "Vijayapurī" during the first three early centuries of A.D. was readily accessable and in close communication with other Buddhistic settlements of Goli, Chezarla, Ghantasala, Gummididorru, Bezwada and Bhatti-Prolu. The discovery of a big university, vihāras for Ceylonese monks and other inscriptional evidences also point out to its importance as a port humming with activity with students and scholars, monks and merchants of many nations.

Thus Vijayapurī must have been one of the biggest and most important Buddhistic settlements too, in southern India and a great place of pilgrimage and visitors disembarked from all parts of India, (Kashmira, Gandhara Tosali, Aparamta, Vanga, Vanavasa, Yavana, Damila) Ceylon, Sumatra and even China.

The sporadic occurrence of Gold coins of Roman emporers Tiberius[31] 16-37 A.D. ; Hadrian 177-138 A.D. ; and Faustina 141 A.D. ; (the elder mother-in-law of Marcus Aurelins and queen of Antoninus Pius) and the existence of clay Bullae imitative of these gold coin types, however established the fact that Vijayapurī was visited by the people of Asia Minor, Greece and Rome also.

Roman influence has gone far ahead and the structures like stadiums, pleasure palaces were all the result of this cultural impact. It is a well known factor that Ikṣvākus employed

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[30] Longhurst op. cit., p. 3. Also see Ramachandran op cit., pp. 1 &4.

[31] Ramachandran op. cit., p. 30. PL. XXXVI,No. I *Ind. Arch.* 1956-57 PL. LX. C-D. p. 38.

Scythian Soilders[32] as their personal guards, and a 'patipada' inscription[33] hints at a colony of Scythians existing at this place. An interesting sculpture discovered by Ramachandran[34] depicts an Amazonian guard outside the royal chamber and we notice this feature at Amarāvatī and Goli also.

The Rulers of Vijayapurī:

Vijayapurī as their capital, Ikṣvākus of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa ruled Āndhrapatha for more than a century. They were evidently feudatory nobility 'Mahātalavarās' first and successors afterwards to the imperial 'Śātavāhana's'. When the Śātavāhanas faded out of the history some time after the last Śātavāhana king Pūlumāvi the IV. 219-225 A.D., the Ikṣvākus eventually became hiers to the political and religious traditions of the imperial power.

The sporadic distribution of lead coins of Gautamiputta yajña śātakarṇi 174-202 A.D.[35] and of the last king Pūlumāvi IV (219-225 A.D.) in the early Ikṣvāku layers are sufficient to testify the rule of the Śātavāhanas over this region before the advent of the independent Ikṣvāku dynasty.

The first Ikṣvāku king Mahārāja Vaśiṣṭhiputra Śrī Chāṇtamūla would seem to have risen to sovereign power overthrowing the effete Śātavāhana Pūlumavi IV at Amaravati. His supremacy was celebrated by the performances like Agniṣṭhoma, Vājapeya, Aśvamēdha and several other sūvarṇṇakayāgas. A point of leading interest is that these southern Ikṣvākus claim their

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32 Longhurst op. cit. PL. IX & X. These two pillars have been found by this excavator in the palace site see pp. 11-12 of his Memoirs.

33 Dr. Vogel, *Ep. Ind.* vol. XX. p. 37. Also Longhurst op. cit., p. 24 PL. XIX. A.

34 Ramachandran op. cit., p. 22. PL. XXX-B.

35 Ramachandran op. cit., p. 30. coin No. 4. All the copper coins found in the early Ikṣvāku, and Ikṣvāku layers, were of Pulumavi, yajña Satakarni, and Satakarni, of utmost significance is that of a terracotta coin mould of Gotamiputra Sātakarni. See *Ind. Arch.* 1956-57 p. 38. PL. XI-B (Central mould from top.)

descent from the traditional progenitor of the famous solar dynasty of Ayōdhya. As is well known 'Ikṣvāku' the founder of the old dynasty was eldest among the nine sons of 'Vaivasvatamanu'. From an apsidal temple inscription[36] of the reign of Mahārāja Śrī 'Vīrapuruṣadatta, second Ikṣvāku king, even Buddha was stated as 'Ikṣvākurāja-pravara-rhsi-śataprabhavavaṃsa saṃbhava-' "born of a race (which is) sprung from hundreds of sages and excellent kings of Ikṣvāku lineage". Very recently the 'Dhvajastambha' Sanskrit inscription of the reign of Śrī Bhavūla Chāṇtamūla, the third Ikṣvāku king, the monarch is eulogized as "Mahārājasya sagara dilīpaṃbarisha-yudhisthiratūlya-Dharma vijayasya-Ramasyeva Sarvajanābhi Ramasÿa Ikṣvākunam Śrī Ehavala Chāṇtamūlasya"[37] Further we have clean cut epigraphical records speaking of the rule of four Ikṣvāku kings and from their latest known regnal years we can fairly establish their chronology. An outstanding significance of only two such records is that for the first time we met with the year name 'Vijaya'[38] of the jupiters sixty year cycle as observed even today in South India. This 'Vijaya' which is the first year of Kaliyuga according to Varāhamihira[39] was twice mentioned, one falling in the 7th regnal year of king Vīrapurushadatta[40] and another in his sons Ehavūla Chāṇtamūla's regnal year.[41] These two inscriptions are the earliest epigraphical records so far known mentioning the cyclic year Vijaya of sixty year cycle and occurred respectively on A.D. 279-280, and A.D. 339-340 current.

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[36] *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XX. p. 22. Inscription F. Line 1 sec. I

[37] *Ind. Arch.*, 1956-57. PL. LVIII "Dhvajasthambha inscription." Lines 5 and 6.

[38] *Ind. Arcb.*, 1959-60. pp. 53-54.

[39] *OJHA* "Bhāratīya Prācinalipimālā." p. 188.

[40] *Ep. Ind.* vol. XXI—Inscription L. pp. 63-64 Dr. Vogel has wrongly read the date portion as (L. 3.) Siri Virapurisadatasa (L. 3.) Vrsasanaya Samvachchara Vimsaya (ṃ) Vāsa-pakham Prathama (ṃ) Divasa (ṃ) bitiya (ṃ) Saga gatasa"., and dated it to Virapuruṣadatta's 20th regnal year. But it has to be read as (L. 2.) Siri Virapuriṣadattasa (L. 3.) vasa-*satāya* Samvachchara-Vijayam vasa-pakham prathamamdivasam bitiyam-Saga gatasa." When sanskritized "Śrī Vira Puruṣadattasya Varshe-*Sapte* samvatsare-Vijayā Varshe-Pakshe prathame-divase dvitiye." Dr. Sircar (*IHQ.*, Vol. XXXVI-p. 26) while correcting the reading of Dr. Vogel took 'Satāya' in the L. 3. as 'Śatāya' which is apparently misfitting here. It is 'Sata' or 'Satta' Skt. Sapta i. e.,

The four kings are: —

(1) Mahārāja Vāśiṣṭhiputra Śrī Chāṇtamūla 225 to 272 A.D.
(2) Mahārāja Mathari Putra Śrī Vīra Pūruṣadatta- 272 to 294 A.D.
(3) Mahārāja Vāśiṣṭhiputra Śrī Ehavūla Chāṇtamūla 526 to 350 A.D.
(4) Mahārāja Svami Śrī Rudra Puruṣadatta, 350 to 361 A.D.

The Dhvajastambha inscription[42] of Puṣpabhadrasvāmi' states about another son Hāratiputra Śrī Vīrapuruṣadatta II son of Ehavula Chāṇtamūla but he remained as a Mahāsenapati only. Regarding the Mahārāja Rudrapuruṣadatta we have only eleven years record of his riegn.

Decline of the Ikṣvāku Dynasty

What had happened later and who exactly succeeded or replaced the Ikṣvākus the epigraphy has no positive answer and is silent almost. After a long spell of time in an inscription of 5th century A.D.[43] discovered at Anaji (Chitaldurg dist. Mysore) a Kekaya prince named 'Śivānandavarman' claims for his family matrimonial connection with the kings of the Ikṣvāku line which possibly shows that the Ikṣvāku dynasty lingered

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Seven. Thus this Chāyakhambha or recapitulative pillar in memory of the svargagata Chāṇtamūla, the first Ikṣvāku king, was raised by his son, Vīrapuruṣadatta during the *7th regnal year* of his riegn *'Vijaya Samvatsara Caitra Suḍha Vidiya.'*

[41] *Ind. Arch.*, 1958-59. p. 8. PL. VI-A.

[42] *Ind. Arch.*, 1956-57. p. 36, PL. LVIII.

[43] Epigraphia Carnatica vol. XI, p. 142. Also. Dr. Sircar "Successors of Sātavāhanas in Lower Deccan," (Calcutta 1939) pp. 315-318.

long as an unimportant ruling power at Vijayapurī. But the supremacy of the Ikṣvākus over Āndhrapatha was finally crushed by the early pallavas of Kanchi as is evidenced by the Mayidavolu plates of "Śivaskandavarman"[44] assignable to second and third quarters of 4th century A.D. stating the offering of a village "Viripara" situated in Āndhrapatha to Brāhmaṇas and the order was sent to his Vapata Skt. vyaprita i.e., Governor, of Dhamnakada (Dharani-Kota, near Amarāvatī). Śivaskandavarman's overlordship of the Āndhrapatha is further confirmed by Hirahadagalli (Bellary district) copper plates[45] of the same date wherein he claimed to be a performer of Agniṣṭhoms, Vājapeya and Aśvamedha sacrifices.

Thus this picturesque valley was once a seat of a mighty kingdom in the early third and fourth centuries of our era and at present may fittingly be allegorized to the forest of Arden[46] wherein Shakespeare found "Tongues in Trees, books in the running brooks, sermons in stones and good in everything."

I. KARTHIKEYA SARMA

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44 Dr. Sircar. op. cit., p. 185.

45 Dr. Sircar op. cit., p. 189 Also see his excellant paper on "The Chronology of the Ikṣvākus and Pallavas." I. H. Q. Vol. XXXVI-pp. 24-28.

46 William Shakespeare. "As you like it." Act II-Scene I.

On the Historicity of Rāmagupta

The problem of Rāmagupta in the Gupta history has remained a subject of great controversy. The Mathurā inscription dated 380-81 A.D. has clearly recorded that Candragupta II has succeeded his father, Samudragupta. The statement of the aforesaid record was, however, not taken as convincing and many scholars derived a new conclusion, on the basis of various texts and inscriptions, that a king named Rāmagupta intervened for a short time between these two rulers, viz. Samudragupta and Candragupta II.

To throw a bright light on the problem it is worthwhile to describe the references of literature and inscriptions.

The discovery of Devīcandraguptam has contributed a lot in the consideration about this king. Sylvain Levi was the first to publish the six passages of the Devīcandraguptam from a manuscript of Nāṭyadarpaṇa.[1] These passages reveal that Rāmagupta had become king while Candragupta was still a prince.[2] In course of war with Saka King, he agreed to send his wife (Dhruvadevī) in the camp of Śakādhipati. His younger brother Candragupta protested against this act of dishonour and offered to go to the enemy's camp in the disguise of queen. After this episode Candragupta ultimately, by some unknown means, killed his brother—Rāmagupta, and married his widow. The authenticity of the statement of Devīcandraguptam has been accepted by various scholars like Hillebrandt, Tawney, Vincent Smith and Jayaswal, who contend that the author of the above play was actually a contemporary of Candragupta II, and thus it was an eye witness of the events represented in Devīcandraguptam.

We have got some stray references in the works of Bāṇa, Śaṅkarāṛya, Śṛiṅgārūpakam etc. regarding the problem. Bāṇa,

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[1] Jr. Asiatique, tome CCIII, 1923 pp. 193-218.

[2] Prof. Banerji, R. D. *The Ages of Imperial Gupta*, pp. 26.

(620 A.D.) says अरिपुरे च परकलत्रकामुकं कामिनीवेषगुप्तश्चन्द्रगुप्तः शकपतिभशानत ।

Śaṅkarārya (1713 A.D.), the commentator of Harṣacarita makes the reference clearer by stating that the Śakapati was killed by Candragupta, after having disguised as his brother's wife, because the former had demanded her in his camp.[3]

Śṛṅgārūpakam (an unpublished work attributed to king Bhoja of Dhārā) also narrated the story in the same way.[4]

However, on the basis of all these above references Prof. R.D. Banerji,[5] Jayaswal,[6] and Dr. Altekar,[7] postulated a new theory that Ramagupta is to be regarded as the immediate predecessor of Candragupta II. They also suggested that the story narrated in the Sanjān Copper plate of Amoghavarsa I dated Saka 795, refers to the same incident. In the Sanjān Copper plates it is stated "that donor in the Kaliyuga, who was of the Gupta lineage, having killed brother, seized kingdom and wife. It is most probable that the Sanjān Plates are here referring to Skanda Gupta Vikramāditya. There was undoubtedly a possibility of fratricidal war at the time of the accession of Skandgupta in which he got success and married his brother's wife.

Altekar went still forward and placed the arguments on the basis of the passages of Kāvyamīmāṁsā of Rājaśekhara[8] and

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[3] शाकानामाचार्यः शकाधिपतिः चन्द्रगुप्तभ्रातृजायां ध्रुवदेवीं प्रार्थयमानः चन्द्रगुप्तेन ध्रुव देवी वेष धारिणा स्त्रीवेषजनपरिवृतेन व्यापादितः ॥

[4] स्त्रीवेषनिह्नुतश्चन्द्रगुप्तः शत्रोः स्कन्धावारभलिपुरं शकपतिवधायागमत् ।

[5] Banerji, op. cit. pp. 26-28.

[6] Jayaswal, K. P. "Candragupta II (Vikramāditya) and his Predecessor." *JBORS.*, vol. XVIII. pp. 17ff.

[7] Altekar, A.S. "A New Gupta King" *JBORS.*, vol. XIV, pp. 223 ff; "Further Discussion about Rāmagupta" *JBORS.*, vol. XV. pp. 134 ff.

[8] दत्त्वा रुद्धगतिः खसाधिपतये देवीं ध्रुवस्वामिनीम् ।
यस्मात्खण्डित साहसो निवर्तते श्रीशर्म (v. i. सेन) गुप्तो नृपः ॥
तस्मिन्नेव हिमालये गुरुगुहाकोणत्क्वणत्किन्नरे ।
गीयन्ते तव कार्तिकेय नगरस्त्रीणां गणैः कीर्तयः ॥

Majmal-ut-Tawārīkh (11 Cent. A.D.), a work on Rawwāl and Barkamārīs, identifying Barkamārīs with Candragupta Vikramāditya and Rawwāl with Rāmagupta.[9]

But the critical examination of the evidences shows that the contention of the above scholars cannot be accepted.

The testimony of Rājaśekhara cannot be taken as referring to the war between Rāmagupta and śakas. It clearly says Khaśas had to fight a war with Śarmgupta or Senagupta. The Khaśas may be taken as the inhabitants of Kumaon, Gaṛhwāl and other parts of Himalayan region. The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* of Kalhaṇa, mentions the Khaśas as a foreign tribe settled in widely diffused parts in the Himalayan region near about the accession of King Mihirakula, the despotic ruler of Kashmīr (6th C. A. D.) and once usurped the throne of Kashmīr and whose decendants are known to-day as Khaśas in Kashmir.[10] Candragupta Vikramaditya came on the throne in the last quarter of 4th century A.D., and it was the incident, as has been referred, of 6th c. A. D., therefore, it cannot be proposed that these lines were sung in praise of Candragupta II. The Kārtikeyanagara mentioned by Rājaṣekhara, was the capital of Khaśas, which is reported to be the modern village of Baijanāth in Kūmaon. It is also noteable that here the name of King's wife is Dhruvaswāminī. Thus it is clear that in any way we cannot connect this incident with Rāmagupta and Candragupta II.

The latter work tells us that Rawwāl and Barkamārīs were brothers. After having got married Barkamārīs had to see an odd situation as his brother Rawwāl was very much enchanted by his wife's beauty. There was a sort of struggle between the two for attaining the queen. Rawwāl succeeded in marrying

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9 Altekar, *JBORS.*, vol. XV. pp. 138 ff.

10 See notes by M.A. Stein in Vol. I. 317 of the Rājataraṅgiṇī's translation.

11 Viśākhādatta, Śaṅkarārya and Kumāragupta I's Bilsad Stone Pillar Inscription, too, recorded the name of the queen as Dhruvādevī and not Dhruvaswāminī.

her forcibly. In the meantime, some old enemy of their father's time attacked Rawwāl. He could not resist the attack and fled with his wife to a mountain fortress. He was, however, followed by the enemy and under the most intricate situation he had to send for peace. The enemies showed a reluctance and demanded his wife. At this juncture Barkamāris came and proposed to go the enemy camp in the disguise of the queen. Through this stratagem, Barkamāris was completely successful in routing the enemy. After this even, however, the two brothers became open rivals. Barkamāris pretended madness and moved here and there barefooted. On day he reached palace and after managing a trick killed the king. He took the damsel back and married her.

The above story of Majmul-ut-Tawārīkh, which Dr. Altekar has taken the episode relating to the life of Candragupta and Rāmagupta cannot be taken as of a very convincing nature. Dr. Altekar, simply took the story of the above work ignoring the whole contents of it. In the Majmul-ut-Tawārīkh a list of Rawwāl's predecessors is given as Kafand, Ayand, Rāsal etc.[12] Can we identify them with the Gupta King? It is a question which does not reach very near to the problem. Hasan Ali, the composer of Majmul-ut-Tawarīkh, says that 'Ayand, the grand father of Rawwāl divided the country of Sind into four parts.[13] One king he established at Askaland Ūsa,[14] upon another he bestowed the country of Zor to which Anj (Uch ?) is attached. Three other countries of Sind were bestowed upon others.[15] Now the question arises whether the Ayand can be identified with Candragupta I, the grandfather of these two disputed personalities, i.e. Candragupta and Rāmagupta. The gupta history states clearly that Candragupta's kingdom was very limited and he ruled over Pāṭaliputra and some other adjoining parts of the country.

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[12] "Majmul-ut-Tawārikh." Extracts trans. *History of India as told by its own Historians* tr. by Elliot and Dowson, vol. I, pp. 108-10.

[13] *Ibid.*, pp. 109.

[14] Elliot pronounced it as Askalandūsa, but is is Askaland-vo-sa. The name is generally accepted as "Askaland." *Vō* means "and", *Sab* means 'three". Thus it denoted that "Askaland with three dependencies".

[15] *Mujmul-ut-Tawārikh*., pp. 109-10.

Bāṇa in his Harṣcarita only tells us about the visit of Candragupta in the camp of Śakas. There is no occurrence either of Rāmagupta or Dhruvadevī. Moreover, this reference is of 7th century A. D. and is not supported by the records of Gupta period. Therefore it is not worth on our part to take the passage as authentic. The episode mentioned in the works of Viśākhādutta, Sankarārya and Sṛṅgārūpakam is, in fact, based on the Harṣacarita and, therefore, no importance cań be given to them.

After Ayand his son Rāsal became king. Hasan Ali says that Rāsal was expelled from the kingdom by some one and he went southwards and established himself there.[16] According to the list of ancestry Rāsal naturally would be identified with Samudragupta, if Dr. Altekar's theory is to be accepted. But the event of this type of humiliating defeat in the life of Samudragupta is nowhere else revealed. So this can naturally be put aside.[17]

Another important point is that the word Barkamāris cannot be taken to Candragupta Vikramāditya.[17] This is a well known fact that the epithet Vikramāditya was used by several other kings and was common during those days.

According to the same historian, the wife of Barkamāris was forcibly married by Rawwāl. But according to the Hindu tradition the elder brother cannot accept the wife of his younger brother.

Elliot the translator of the Majmul-ut-tawārikh also does not mention that this is the story of Rāmagupta and Candragupta Vikramāditya.

Mr. Jayaswal has made the problem more complicated by

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16 *Ibid*. pp. 110.

17 For the detailed discussion on this point, please see my article "Does Majmul-ut-Tawārikh speak about Rāmagupta's episode, JORI, Baroda, vol., XIII, No., I, pp. 26 ff.

putting Rāsal the grandson of Kafand (i.e. Kadphises) and son of Ayand (i.e. Wema).[18] In Majmul-ut-Tawārīkh we very clearly see that Rāsal had two sons Rawwāl and Barkamārīs[19]. But the learned scholar like K. P. Jayswal has twisted the matter, by saying that Rāsal's son (evidently a descendant)[20] led an army and put Rawwāl to flight. Barkamārīs comes to his rescue as is known already. The first point against Jayaswal's argument is that Kafand, Ayand and Rāsal have been described by Hasan Ali as the predecessors of Rawwāl and Barkamārīs. Jayaswal, however, separates quite erroneously these three rulers and identifies them with the Kushāṇ king without sufficiently pointing out the ancestry of Rawwāl and Barkamārīs.

Prof. Jayaswal's indentification of Kafand with Kadphises does not hold much water as the Muslim work clearly states that Kafand was "contemporary with Alexander the Greek"[21] The Kushāṇ king Kadphises is assigned a date c. 1st A. D. while Alexander, who was contemporary to Kafand comes in the picture in 326 B.C.

The upshot of the whole thing is that Kafand, Ayand, Rāsal, Rawwāl and Barkamārīs were the descendants of one and the same dynasty[22]. We cannot say at the present hour who was the 'old enemy' of Rawwāl as the issue does not come under the present study.

Prof. Altekar's theory of taking Rawwāl and Barkamārīs as Candrapupta and Rāmagupta cannot also be taken as convincing. Accepting it tentatively for a while that these two Rawwāl and Barkamārīs were Candragupta and Rāmagupta, we cannot in any way be reconciled to identify that ancestors of Rawwāl and Barkamārīs with Candragupta and Rāmagupta. Here too we have to rely on the statement of Majmul-ut-Tawārīkh that Kafand

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[18] Jayaswal, op. cit. pp. 20.

[19] *Majmul-ut-Tawārikh*, pp. 110.

[20] Jayaswal, *op. cit.* pp. 20-1.

[21] *Majmul-ut-Tawārikh*, pp. 108.

[22] *Ibid.*, pp. 108-12.

(great-grand-father) of these two aforesaid princes, was "contemporary with Alexander the Greek"[23] This very fact goes against Dr. Altekar's theory, for the gupta history starts quite late in cen. 320 A. D.

The conclusion is fairly drawn that this dynasty of Sind had nothing similar to be identified either with the Kushāṇas or the Guptas. It was an independent dynasty of rulers having its own existence from a quite early period than the Kushāṇas and Guptas.

After considering all the recorded evidences there are some more points which go against the theory that Rāmagupta occupied the throne before Candragupta II.

Firstly, we do not have a mention of Rāmagupta in any of the extant Gupta inscriptions.

Dr. Altekar has answered that the silence of the inscriptions is however, hardly a sufficient proof against the historic character of the king Rāmagupta. The reason is put that epigraphical lists are usually genealogical and not dynastic and they very often omit collateral rulers. He cities the example of the larger Nānāghāṭ inscription which does not make a reference to the king Krishṇa of the Andhra dynasty. And yet we know from both the epigraphical and purāṇic evidences that Krishṇa ruled between the reigns of Simukha and Sātakarṇi.

The same may have been the case with the Gupta genealogies. A record which proceeds to give the genealogy of Kumāragupta need not obviously mention his uncle. And the optical genealogists would certainly avoid going out of their way and mentioning collateral ruler ; who was a standing disgrace to the reigning house.[24]

The above argument of Dr. Altekar needs to be examined. The instance of Krishṇa the Andhra ruler as not occurring in the Nānāghāṭ inscription, and putting the case of Rāmagupta similar to that cannot be taken as convincing. Krishṇa, though omitted in the Nānāghāṭ inscription, is recorded in another record, Nāsik inscription of the dynasty.[25]

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[23] *Ibid.*, pp. 108.

[24] Altekar, *JBORS.*, vol. XIV, pp. 244.

In the case of Rāmagupta, however, we see a complete silence in the available Gupta or any other contemporary records. We can accept the view that he was avoided because he was a collateral ruler. But at the same time the point arises why he himself did not issue any grant or inscription during his reign. There are no sufficient reasons for this theory about his existence propounded by various scholars.

Another argument against Rāmagupta is that if he was a king really he should have issued some coins. Though, Dr. Bhandarkar has attributed the Kācha coins as of Rāmagupta, he contends further that Kācha and Rāma are the names of the one and same person. He cites the instance of Candragupta II as having a second name Devagupta.[26]

The above theory of Dr. Bhandarkar does not hold much water now, because it has been refuted by various other succeeding scholars on the basis of very sound arguments.

Recently some copper coins have been found in Malwa, bearing the legend Rāmagupta.[27] Some scholars have attributed these coins to this Rāmagupta. But it cannot also be taken as a strong hypothesis for there is no evidence elsewhere of any Gupta king before Candragupta II issuing forth copper coins. Therefore, it appears, the present personality bearing the name Rāmagupta on the copper coins of Malwa, is some local ruler and not the Rāmagupta of the Gupta dynasty. If we tentatively accept the above theory of taking this Rāmagupta of Gupta dynasty, we should consider the case of Bayana hoard[28a] where not a single coin of this king has been found.[28b]

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[25] Raychaudhuri H. C., *Political History of Ancient India*, pp. 344.

[26] *Mālvi Commemoration Volume*, pp. 189.

[27] *JNSI.*, vol. XII, pp. 103; vol. XIII, pp. 128.

[28a] Altekar, *Catalogue of Gupta Gold Coins in the Bayana Hoard*, Bombay, 1955.

[28b] See also my paper, "On the copper coins of Rāmagupta," JNSI., vol., XXV, pt., I, pp., 105-7

The Gupta inscriptions clearly state that Candragupta II was nominated by his father Samudragupta. So "the acceptance of this view would cut at the very root of the theory that Rāmagupta succeeded Samudragupta."[29]

Some scholars have suggested that since the name of Rāmagupta does not figure in the imperial Gupta genealogies he may not have been an emperor, but a provincial governor. This theory is not plausible in any way.

Thus the critical examination of the evidences forwarded in the support of the historicity of Rāmagupta clearly shows—the king named Rāmagupta never preceded Candragupta Vikramāditya. And unless some solid evidence is found to prove him a Gupta-ruler, this created personality should be kept aside from the Gupta-history.

NISAR AHMAD

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[29] *Gupta Vākāṭaka Age*, pp. 165.

Vedic Deities: The Mystery Behind Their Multiple Names

The principal deities of the Vedas are each found to bear multiple names or appellations, and the fact should be known to all critical readers of the Vedic texts. These appellations are found in a somewhat scattered manner in the Saṃhitās, but they become more easily noticeable as one comes to Brāhmaṇa and Āraṇyaka literature. The Epics and the Purāṇas, on the other hand, are found to contain the different appellations of the deities together, in their appropriate contexts, and in a more systematized manner. Indian scholars in general found nothing wrong or unnatural in this, as they knew it to have been in conformity with the correct Vedic tradition. But the matter appeared otherwise, about the middle of the last century, to some foreign scholars, having scanty regard for the value of the Saṃhitās, and not perhaps well versed in the Vedic exegetical texts, and not fully acquainted with the Indian tradition either. Assuming that so many appellations could not reasonably apply to one single deity, they concluded that the names might originally have belonged to kindred or different deities, and were probably united or blended in the person of a single one, later on, when various religious cults had begun to develop. This process of blending or unification was called syncretism, and was declared to have been applicable to the central deities of the different religious sects of ancient India. Different scholars, at different periods, wrote on the subject, from this particular standpoint, and, in this way, the theory, basically wrong and untraditional, developed and eventually secured powerful adherents in India, too. The view of at least a powerful section of Indian scholars, at the moment, is that the Hindu religious cults are more or less of mixed origin, since the central figures, more particularly, Śiva and his consort, unite in themselves various Aryan and even non-Aryan gods and goddesses.

Not knowing that the Epics and the Purāṇas were actually following the truly Vedic traditions, some scholars (including some Indians as well) have gone so far as to suggest that this act of blending was effected with the help of (manufactured?) fables and high philosophical expositions of the post-Vedic texts, and it is a matter of regret that extracts from such writings, or ideas propagating this erroneous view, are found in some text books prescribed for College and University students. It is also a matter of regret that no Indian scholar was so far found to controvert this theory, with evidences from the authoritative texts, which alone could probably put a wholesome check on its propagation.

Saints and Vedic teachers of ancient India perhaps foresaw that a time might come, when suspicion might arise in the minds of the readers of the Vedic texts, regarding the multiple appellations of some of the great Vedic deities. Therefore, they thought it wise to note down the causes of the multiple names of these deities. Thus we have in Yāska's Nirukta and Śaunaka's Bṛhaddevatā clear statements or definitions of the exact reasons that led to the different names of a single deity. Referring to the deities, in the Daivata Kāṇḍa of the Nirukta, Yāska (7th century B.C.) says, among other things:—

तासां महाभाग्यादेकैकस्या अपि बहूनि नामधेयानि भवन्ति। अपि वा कर्मपृथक्त्वात्। यथा होताध्वर्युर्ब्रह्मोद्गाता इति अप्येकस्य सतः। अपि वा पृथगेव स्युः। पृथग् हि स्तुतयो भवन्ति। तथाभिधानानि। इत्यादि—७।५

That is, these deities each receive several or many appellations in consequence of their majesty (greatness), or of the diversity of the functions that they are called upon to perform,—as the names of Hotā, Adhvaryu, Brahmā, and Udgātā are applied to one and the same person, according to the particular office that he happens to fill alternately in a sacrifice. Or these deities may all be distinct, just as the praises attributed to them as also the appellations,—may be all different.

The point is further clarified by Śaunaka in his Bṛhaddevatā (chapter I, verses 23-28), where the views of several Vedic teachers of the past ages, including that of Yāska, are briefly but clearly stated. Thus says Śaunaka (6th century B.C.):—

> तत् खल्वाहुः कतिभ्यस्तु कर्मभ्यो नाम जायते ।
> सत्वानां वैदिकानां वा यद्वान्यदिह किञ्चन ॥२३॥
> नवभ्य इति नैरुक्ताः पुराणाः कवयश्च ये ।
> मधुकः श्वेतकेतुश्च गालवश्चैव मन्वते ॥२४॥
> निवासात् कर्मणो रूपान् मङ्गलाद्वाच आशिषः ।
> यदृच्छयोपवसनात् तथामुष्यायणाच्च यत् ॥२५॥
> चतुर्भ्य इति तत्राहुः यास्कगार्ग्यरथीतराः ।
> आशिषोऽथार्थवैरूप्याद् वाचः कर्मण एव च ॥२६॥
> सर्वाण्येतानि नामानि कर्मतस्त्वाह शौनकः ।
> आशीरूपं च वाच्यं च सर्वं भवति कर्मतः ॥२७॥
> यदृच्छयोपवसनात् तथामुष्यायणाच्च यत् ।
> तथा तदपि कर्मैव तच्छृणुध्वं च हेतवः २८॥

"From how many actions", they say, "does a name arise, whether of Vedic beings or of any other occurring there?" "From nine", say the Nairuktas (etymologists) and ancient sages like Madhuka, Śvetaketu and Gālava, "and these are which come from (1) abode, (2) action, (3) form (shape or appearance), (4) salutary power (power to do good,—māṅgalya, which Macdonell translates as luck), (5) speech, (6) prayer (aśiṣa), (7) from will (yadṛccha, which Macdonell renders as accident), (8) addiction (upavasana), and (9) the mystery of birth (amuṣyāyaṇa, extraction—Macdonell)." But according to Yāska, Gārgya and Rathītara (Śākapūṇi), the appellations come from 4 causes, such as, prayer diversity of objects (arthavairupya), speech and action. Śaunaka, however, is of the opinion that all these names arise from action, as prayer, form and speech (utterance),—all come from action alone. Similarly, even those that come from will (yadṛccha), addiction and birth, are simply action, and so, listen to the reasons thereof.

It should be mentioned here that, in the available Nirukta of Yāska, we do not come across the remarks attributed to him by Śaunaka. This confirms the views of some eminent scholars that there used to be a larger recension of the Nirukta in those days, in addition to the abridged one that we have now. Whatever the case, the thing that becomes clear is that Yāska had definite views regarding the cause of the multiple appellations of the Vedic deities, as implied by the remarks found in the available Nirukta. Kātyāyana (late 6th century B.C. or early 5th century B.C.), too, briefly deals with the point in his Sarvānukramaṇī of the Ṛgveda (11/12-14), stating that the Vedic deities receive different names according to the place of abode (earth, atmosphere and sky), actions, and majesty, etc.

This is no doubt in confirmation of the views of Yāska and also of the Bṛhaddevatā, where Śaunaka further says:—

एतासामेव माहात्म्यान् नामान्यत्वं विधीयते ।
तत्तत्स्थानविभागेन तत्र तत्रेह दृश्यते ॥१-७०
तासामियं विभूतिर्हि नामानि यदनेकशः ।
आहुस्तासां तु मन्त्रेषु कवयोऽन्योन्ययोनिताम् ॥१-७१
यथास्थानं प्रतिष्ठास्ता नामान्यत्वेन देवताः ।
तद्भक्तास्तत् प्रधानाश्च केचिदेवं वदन्ति ताः ॥१-७२

Owing to the majesty of these deities, different names are applied to each of them, and the diversity of their names appears in accordance with the division of their respective spheres, such as, earth, atmosphere, and the sky. It is indeed in manifestation of their power (Vibhūti) that their names are various. The seers, however, say in their hymns (mantras) that these deities have a mutual origin. They are designated by different names according to their sphere, and some speak of them (names) as those given by their devotees (bhaktāḥ), and chiefly belonging to sphere.

From the remarks of the above teachers, it is thus clear that each of the Vedic gods and goddesses would receive at least 9 or 4 different names, according to the causes stated already, in addition to those given by their admiring and grateful devotees, as a result of their having received different kinds of benefits in different ways. In this way, each deity would receive multiple names in the natural course of events. To cite a few instances from the Ṛgveda alone,—Agni, the first deity of the Ṛgveda, the Sāmaveda, and, in a way, also of the two Yajurvedas, Black & White,—is Agni on earth, Jātavedā in the atmosphere (antarikṣa) and Vaiśvānara in the sky (dyauḥ). He is Dravinodā (giver of wealth and power), Narāśaṃsa, Devadūta, Sapta-jihvā (seven-tongued), Rakṣohā (killer of demons), Āśuśukṣaṇi, Idhma, Tanūnapāt, Ila, Barhi, D·vīrdvāra, Daivyahotārā, Keśina, etc.,—as described all through the Ṛgveda. He is again Purohita, Yajña-devatā, Ṛtvik, Hotā, Giver of Wealth, Kavi (seer or poet), Yajña itself (Kratu), Bhadrakṛt (doer of good), etc., all in one, as in the very first hymn of the Ṛgveda. In addition, Agni is a great remover of sins and evils, helping mankind to cross easily the ocean of life like a good sailor, as in R. V. I-99, I-189-2, X-98-12, etc. Such appellations will multiply on further scrutinization of the numerous Agni-hymns, and the same may be said of Indra, who is Devarāja (king of the gods), Samrāṭ (emperor), Āditya (a son of Aditi), Vajrī (holder of vajra), Maghavā & Parjaṇya (giver of rain), Rathītama (best among charioteers), Śakra, Śatakratu (celebrator of 100 sacrifices), Dvibarhā, Bṛddhaśravā, Śacīpati, Puruhuta, Vasupati, Rayipati, Gotrabhit, Ākhaṇḍala, etc., as told in numerous hymns. In this way, we come across the multiple appellations of the Aśvins, Varuṇa, Mitra, Viṣṇu, Sūrya, Sarasvatī, and other principal Ṛgvedic deities. This tradition of the Vedas has been faithfully carried in the different post-Vedic texts, and in the Purāṇas, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* in particular. As a matter of fact, the *Mahābhārata* gives as many as 1000 different names of Śiva in the Anuśāsana Parva-chapter 17 (sage Upamanyu to Śrīkṛṣṇa).

We have in the Nighantu, the earliest of the available lexicons, lists of Vedic words having similar or identical meanings. This principle of the Nighantu has been followed in the Amarakoṣa (4th century A. D.), where we come across (First Part, Svarga Varga) different names not only of gods and goddesses, but also of Gautama Buddha, founder of Buddhism. We have as many as 25 different names of the great teacher, which are given below, and which, on comparison with the 9 or the 4 causes stated above, will be found to have followed the Indian tradition quite faithfully.

Sarvajña, Sugata, Buddha, Dharmarāja, Tathāgata, Samantabhadra, Bhagavān, Mārajit, Lokajit, Jina, Ṣaḍabhijña, Daśabala, Advayavādī, Vināyaka, Munīndra, Śrīghana, Śāstā, Muni, Śākyamuni, Śākyasiṃha, Sarvārthasiddha, Śauddhodani, Gautama, Arkabandhu and Māyādevīsuta.

Needless to say, these 25 appellations were all collected by the author from the authoritative Buddhist religious texts. Nobody on earth could possibly argue that these were originally the names of 25 different persons, who were later on all united in the person of the Buddha, by his crafty disciples and grand-disciples, to make him appear grandiloquent in the eyes of the people. A careful study of the list will doubtless show that the first 18 appellations, as also the 21st and the 24th (20 names) concerned the different qualities of the great teacher, while the remaining 5 related to his lineage and parentage. There can be no doubt that the 20 names or appellations were all given by his admiring followers in consideration of the numerous great attributes and attainments of their prophet. The third appellation (Buddha) is said to have been assumed by the prophet himself on the fulfilment of his tapasyā, that is, on his attainment of Buddhahood or perfect knowledge at Buddha-Gayā, while the fifth one (Tathāgata and a few others, like Śāstā, Śrīghana, etc., happened to be the ceremonial forms of his address or reference. These were exactly the reasons of the multiple appellations of his two illustrious predecessors, Śrī Rāmacandra and Śrī Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva. These again were the reasons of the numerous appellations of some of the great Vedic gods and goddesses, and it would most certainly be going against age-old Indian tradition and Indian religious history to say that these multiple names of a single deity are indication of a syncretism of many different names originally belonging to different deities. Unfortunately, that is the argument of several great European scholars, regarding some of the Vedic deities, in relation to whom various religious faiths gradually developed. The argument might have some meaning according to the European analogy of the matter, where multiple names of a single deity are unknown; but it becomes meaningless when applied to the great Indian deities, particularly to the heads of the Indian religious sects. Strangely enough, several Indian scholars have accepted this wrong view, and written books also in support thereof, which are widely read at present.

Pre-Christian Europe, as we all know, was primarily pagan. The Greeks, the Romans, and the Scandinavians had been, originally, like the Hindus, worshippers of many gods and goddesses; but unlike the Indian deities, their European counterparts had each one single name, or at best two names only, multiple names being unknown and unthought of there. It is with such a tradition behind that some European scholars came to interpret Indian religious faiths, and the central figures of these different sects, and thus caused a mess. The more sober among them, however, have been somewhat guarded in their statements; but others appeared quite clear, and, in a way, aggressive too. These latter discovered syncretism or unity of kindred or different deities with a principal one, in several cases. This theory of so-called syncretism appears more pronounced in the cases of two very old Ṛgvedic deities, Śiva and his consort, generally known as the Great Mother. The following 2 instances, concerning some passages of two Brāhmaṇa texts, fully illustrate the procedure followed by some European scholars:

1. Chapter I-7-3-8 of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa of the White Yajurveda says:

> Agni is that god, and his are these names; he is called Śarva in the eastern regions, and Bhava in the land of the Vāhīkas (a part of the Punjab); Agni indeed is Paśupati (Paśūnāmpati) and Rudra. Agni is his most salutary name, the others are rather unsalutary, representing as they do the unsalutary side of his nature or character.

The position is further clarified in chapter VI-1-3-7 of the same text, where the story of creation is described. Prajāpati (Brahma) at first created a boy (Kumāra), who, immediately after birth, started crying for a name (nāma me dhehīhi). That boy or Kumāra was Agni, and because he cried, he came to be called Rudra. The crying did not stop, and the creator successively gave him the new names of Śarva, Paśupati, Ugra, Aśani, Bhava, and Mahāndeva (Mahādeva). The crying continued until the eighth name of Īśāna (Lord) was given, when Kumāra said "Thus far I am, give me no further name". So these are the 8 names of Agni, Kumāra being the ninth, and these 9 names represent the three-fold nature of Agni.

Both the statements are clear and unequivocal. Even then, Prof. Eggeling, translator of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, remarks:

"Passages such as this (i.e., I-7-3-8) and VI-1-3-7 siq. are of considerable interest, as showing, on the one hand, the tendency towards identifying and blending originally distinct and apparently local Vedic gods, specially Rudra, with the person of Agni, the representative of the divine power on earth in later Vedic triad; and, on the other hand, the origin of the conception of Śiva, in the pantheistic system of the post-Vedic period." Part I, page 201, footnote.

In the above context, it is needless to say that the remarks are entirely baseless and unjustified, there being no question of blending or unifying. It may be mentioned here that Prof. Max Muller happened to be the General Editor of the Series under which this Brāhmaṇa text was published.

2. The Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa of the Ṛgveda, in chapter VI, gives the same story of creation, as well as of the 8 different names of Agni, though in different words. Here also, as in the case of the Satapatha, the language is quite clear and unequivocal, requiring no commentary or explanation for proper understanding of the actual sense, and it may be interesting to see what the translator of this Brāhmaṇa text, Prof. Keith, says, in regard to this particular passage: —

"The Kauṣītaki contains a long section (VI-1 to 9) where we find the distinctive names of Rudra as Bhava, Śarva, Paśupati, Ugra-Deva, Mahān-Deva, Rudra, Īśāna and Aśani. There is, therefore, no doubt that Aufrecht is right in his declaration that the period of the Brahmaṇa was one when the old polytheism was in a condition of decline, and the new faith which presents itself in Indian religious history as Śaivism was gaining ground. It is impossible not to feel in both the Brāhmaṇas (Aitareya & Kauṣītaki), as also in the Śatapatha, that the figure of Rudra has a very different reality from that possessed by the more normal members of the pantheon, or by Prajāpati as creator, with whom as lord of creatures, he successfully contends."—Introduction, pp. 25-26.

The first thing that will strike even a casual reader of these remarks, is the total absence from the picture of the name of Agni, the deity whose different features the different names of Rudra, Bhava, Īśāna, etc., actually represent; the central deity is not Rudra, but Agni, Rudra representing only a particular phase or trait of the character of Agni. In other cases, the remarks happen to be the same as those of Eggeling or Aufrecht, and it is not necessary to deal with the points any further.

This age-old Vedic tradition of Agni, as being none other than Lord Śiva, finds its echo in two categorical statements of Kālidāsa, the inner significance of which, unfortunately, seems to have escaped the attention even of Indian scholars (to whom the poet is so dear), writing about Śaivism and the Cult of Śakti. After the sad demise of his dear wife, Satī, Śiva kindled a fire in front and engaged himself in very deep meditation. The poet pertinently asks, "For what purpose, did the lord, dispenser of all fruits of tapasyā, engage himself in meditation?" He gives the answer himself, declaring that the great lord meditated on his own eight forms, forms which are all represented by Agni:—

धात्राग्निमातय समित्समिद्धं स्वमेव मूर्त्यन्नरमष्टसूर्तिः ।
स्वयं वियाता तपसः फलानां केनापि कामेन तपश्चचार ॥

Kumārasambhavam, 1-57.

Again, in the first śloka of Śakuntalā, the śloka of salutation, he says:—

या सृष्टिः स्रष्टुराद्या वहति विधिहुतं या हविर्या च होत्री
ये द्वे कालं विधत्तः स्तुतिविचयगुणा या स्थिता व्याप्य विश्वम् ।
यामाहुः सर्ववीजप्रकृतिरिति यया प्राणिनः प्राणवन्तः
प्रत्यक्षाभिः प्रपन्नस्तनुभिरवतु वस्ताभिरष्टाभिरीशः ॥१॥

These are unmistakable evidences, pointing to the fact that the great poet was himself well versed in the Vedic texts and also well acquainted with the correct Vedic tradition regarding the real nature of the Vedic god, Agni,—not the element of Fire anyhow, as many renowned scholars would like to call him, from a superficial view of the matter. This then is Agni, the first and the most prominent deity of the Vedas, the god of universal veneration, being equally adored by both the Aryans and the non-Aryans. No householder, whether living in the country or in the forest, could do without Fire, and wherever there was Fire, there was Śiva, so that Śiva became the universal god by virtue of his own natural power, not because he had managed to thrust himself upon the Aryans during the sacrifice of Dakṣa Prajāpati, as the modern theory about Śiva suggests. No sacrifice is possible without Agni (Fire); hence no sacrifice is possible without Śiva. Dakṣa, in his pride, forgot this rudimentary principle, and, therefore, paid the penalty for his folly and impertinence, a Prājapati though he was.

It is not a fact that Śaivism was a later development; it developed simultaneously with the Ṛgvedic hymns, where the numerous Agni-hymns actually describe not only the above 8 or 9 different names of Agni, but also many others, which are found abundantly in the later texts. The Brāhmaṇa texts simply explain what was implied in the Ṛgveda and the other Saṃhitās. The subject is a big one, demanding special treatment, and will be taken up separately. If these clear, unmistakable evidences have so long escaped the attention of scholars, the fault does not lie with that great deity.

It may be mentioned here that the same lexicon, Amarakoṣa, gives 48 different names of Śiva (as against the 1000 mentioned in the Mahābhārata-Anuśāsana Parva, chapter 17), 17 names of his consort, 35 names of Indra, 39 names of Viṣṇu, and 20 different names of Prajāpati, to mention only a few from the Svarga Varga of that vocabulary. The author of this lexicon is reputed to have been a Buddhist by faith, and it can by no means be argued that he put in these different appellations of the gods and goddesses unless he was himself well-versed in the true Indian tradition as laid down in the various Vedic exegetical texts and other allied books. As regards the pre-Yāska saints and teachers referred to in the Bṛhaddevatā, namely, Śvetaketu, Madhuka, Gālava, the ancient Nairuktas, Gārgya, Rathītara, etc., some of whom at least belong to a very early age, they were all unquestionably full-fledged teachers of the Vedas and non-sectarian in outlook, as were their successors, Yāska, Śaunaka and Kātyāyana. Whatever they have said, in regard to the causes of the multiple appellations of the Vedic deities, they have said so for all the deities, irrespective of the few principal ones in relation to whom various religious cults had already developed.

A few words need be said in regard to the epithet "Advayavādī" used in relation to Gautama Buddha. The term evidently means a non-dualist, as a true Vedantist is, an worshipper of Ātman or Brahma, in preference to the intermediary gods and goddesses. It is an irony that such a great teacher was later on termed by others as Nirīśvaravādī (निरीश्वरवादी), a heretic, like his other great contemporary, Mahāvīra, founder of Jainism.

Attention of scholars is herewith drawn to the mystery behind the multiple appellations of the Vedic deities, and it is hoped that they will henceforth follow the true Indian tradition, in preference to the theory of syncretism which is entirely baseless and hypothetical.

AMIYA KUMAR CHAKRAVORTY

Place-names in the Vāmana Puraṇa

(Alphabetically arranged)

In the following pages a list of place-names and tīrthas found in the Vāmana Purāṇa has been given. The place-names noticed by Nundalal Dey (D), Bimala Churn Law (L), D. C. Sircar (S), and Pandurang Vaman Kane (K), in their geographical works, and by A. B. Keith (V) and V. R. R Dikshitar (P) in their indexes, have been indicated by the letters D, L, S, K, V, P.[1] respectively.

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(1) L=Historical Geography of Ancient India. By Bimala Churn Law. Paris, Societe Asiatique de Paris, [1954] Printed in Calcutta v+354p., 24cm.

V=Vedic Index of names and subjects By Arthur Anthony Macdonell and Arthur Berriedale Keith. London, John Murray, 1912, 2 vols. (XVI+544;+592 pp.).

[Reprinted by Motilal Banarasidass, Varanasi, 1958].
Indian Texts Series.

D=The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India. By Nundo Lal Dey. 2nd. ed. [Printed by C. Wollen at the British India Press, Mazgaon, Bombay.] London, Luzac & Co. 1927. X+262P., 1 map, cm. Calcutta Oriental Series, No. 21. E. 13.

P=The Purāṇa Index. By V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar. University of Madras, 1951-1955. 3 vols. 25 cm. Madras University Historical Series, no. 19. Printed at G. S. Press, Madras.

[Purāṇas indexed; Bhāgavata; Brahmāṇḍa: Matsya; Vāyu; Viṣṇu].

K=History of Dharmaśāstra (Ancient and Mediaeval Religious and Civil law in India). Vol 4, sec. 4—Chapter 16—List of Tīrthas, pp. 723-827. Poona, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1953.

S=Studies in the Geography of ancient & medieval India. By D. C. Sircar, Delhi, Motilal Banarasidass, 1960. 304 pp., 22 cm.

In preparing this index the Vaṅgavāsī edition of the Vāmana Purāṇa has been followed.

Place names in the Garuḍa Purāṇa have been published in the *Indian Historical Quarterly.*[1]

Place names in the Vāmana Purāṇa

1. Agnikuṇḍa, [K_4. 730b; S. 220 (Agni Saraḥ-Kuṇḍa).]
Tīrtha on Sarasvatī.
(51)[2] 52b.[3]

2. Aṅga, [D. 7; P_1. 20; L. 42-4, 204-209; V_1. II; S. 83]
A country in the East.
(14) 44b.

3. Aṅgeya, [S. 27 people]
In the East
(13) 45b.

4. Añjana, [P_1. 34; D. 8; K_4. 733; L. 65]
Mountain near Brahmagiri
(65) 130b.

5. Adrika, आद्यान् वेशन्…,पर्वताशपिणस्तु…शशिंखा द्रिका
(13) 58b.

6. Anaraka, [K_4. 733a; P_1. 52]
Tīrtha under Kurukṣetra
(41) 22a, 23b.

7. Anūpa, [D. 8; K_4. $733b^3$; P_1. 61; S. 35, 214-5]
(Anūpā, river rising from Ṛkṣavat mt. K_4. 733b.)
Janapada in Vindhyamūla, (13) 56a.

8. Antaragiri, [D. 8; P_1. 64 (a tribe of East); L. 21, 209; S. 27 (North of Prāgjyotiṣa)]
In the East.
(13) 44b

9. Andhra, [D. 7; P_1. 69; L. 140; V_1. 23; S. 87-88]
A country in the S. of Bhārata.
(13) 13b, 50a.

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[1] Vol. 37, part I, March 1961.

[2] Chapter. [3] verse and line.

10. Anna, [K_4. 733 (Annakūṭa, under Mathurā)].
Tīrtha,
(36) 63a

11. Aparānta, [D. 9; P_1. 72; L. 12, 13; S. 264]
उत्तरपथवासिनः
(13) 38a.

12. Amara (kaṇṭaka) [K_4. 732a; D. 4; P_1. 81; L. 303;
S. 34, 47]
Mountain
(65) 133b.

13. Amaravati, [D. 5; P_1. 82; L. 139]
(9) 9b; (10) 12b; (60) 36a

14. Amlu, [K_4. 732b]
River in Kurukṣetra
(34) 7b (वर्षाकालवहा:)

15. Ayodhyā, [K_4. 736b; P_1. 95; L. 142; 67-9; S. 265]
A kingdom, (established by Kauśika)
(64) 62b.

16. Aruṇā, [K_4. 734b; D. 11; P_1. 101; S. 222 (Aruna)].
River.
(41) 32a, 43a.

17. Arbuda, [K_4. 734a; D. 10; P. 111; L. 304; S. 33n4]
A Country (13) 18a.
Mountain Abu in the Aravati range in Sirohi state.
(90) 19b.

18. Alpeka Tīrtha. [Caitra-śukla-cāturdasyāṃ tīrthe snātvā
hyalepake]
(36) 46a.

19. Avakīrṇa, [K_4. 736a.]
Tīrtha under Kurukṣetra & Sarasvatī.
(39) 24b, 26a, 29a, 32a.

20. Avantī, [K_4. 736a; D. 13; P_1. 118; L. 304-308; S. 90]
Janapada in Vindhyamūla
(13) 56a.
Avantī Viṣaya, (83) 186 (city); (89) 25a; (90) 13a.

21. Aśmaka [D. 12; P_1. 123; 139; L. 142; S. 150ff.]
(1) City, (10) 56d.
(2) In Dākṣiṇātya, (13) 49b.

22. Aśvatīrtha. [K_4. 735b; D. 13]
(83) 26a.

23. Asi, [K_4. 734b; D. 12]
River under Varanasi.
(13) 28a.
(15) 53a.

24. Ahidevikā.
River rising from Ṛkṣa mountain.
(13) 26a.

"Ā"

25. Ānanda (ālso called Nandītata) [K_4. 732b].
In the East
(13) 46b.

26. Āpagā, [K_4. 733; D. 9]
River under Kurukṣetra
(36) 1b, 3a, 5a.

27. Ābhīra [D. 1; P_1. 164; L. 275-6; S. 91]
1. Uttarāpatha-vasinaḥ, (13) 37b.
2. In Dakṣiṇāpatha, (13) 48b.

28. Āraṇya(ka) [D. 10]
In Dākṣiṇātya
(13) 48b.

"I"

29. Indra-tīrtha [K_4. 758a]
(57) 92a.
(83) 7a.

30. Indra-dvīpa [P_1. 194; S. 66]
One of the nine parts of Bhārata
(13) 10a.

31. Irāvatī [K_4. 758a; D. 79; P. 1. 200; L. 86; S. 41]
A tīrtha, River (Modern Ravi)
(13) 21a; (57) 77a;
(79) 7b, 51b, 81a; (81) 1a;
(89) 6b (Airāvatī); (90) 5a.

32. Ilāvṛta [P_1. 202]
One of the varṣas
(13) 3a, 6b.

"Ī"

33. Īśvarī
River
(84) 6b.

"U"

34. Ujjayanta [K_4. 815a; D. 211; P_1. 212]
Girnar in Saurāṣṭra and near Dvārakā
Mountain
(13) 18a.

35. Utkala [D. 213; P_1. 214; L. 197; S. 100, 134ff.]
Janapada in Vindhyamūla
(13) 54a.

36. Utkrodhanī tīrtha,
(57) 97a.

37. Utpalāvati [K_4. 816a; D. 213; P_1. 221; L. 197]
River rising from Śuktimat mountain
(13) 32b

38. Uttarakuru [D. 213; P_1. 217; L. 133; V_1. 84; S. 9]
(84) 31b; (90) 22a.

39. Uttarāpatha [D. 214; P_1. 219; L 12-13]
Inhabitants of,
(13) 37a-44a.

40. Uttamarṇa [S. 34]
Janapada Vindhyamūla
(13) 54b.

41. Udapāna [K_4. 814b]
(57) 92a.

42. Udaya [P_1. 222; L. 164-5, 196-7; 331-2]
Mountain,
(52) 46a; (57) 15a; (65) 76b; (73) 26a.

43. Uddālaka, [K_4. 815a. (Uddālakeśvara)]
Mountain,
(52) 46b.

44. Ulūpī, [river rising from Pārijātra mountain]
(13) 24b.

45. Uśira,
River
(13) 21b.

"Ū"

46. Ūrṇa [S. 36, 300 (people)]
(13) 58a (ādayān deśān parvatāśrayiṇ) (a)

"Ṛ"

47. Ṛkṣa, [K_4. 736; D. 168; P_1. 260; L. 328; S. 49n3]
Mountain
(13) 14b; 28a (Rivers emanating from).

48. Ṛṣyamūka, [K_4, 797a; D. 169; P_1. 274; S. 293]
Hill, (13) 18a.

"E"

49. Ekalavya,[4] [S272 (people)]
Janapada in Vindhyamūla
(13) 54a.

"O"

50. Oghavati [K_4. 786b; D. 142; S. 46, 57]
River in Panjab
(13) 25a (rises from Pāriyātra mountain); (46) 50a; (57) 83a; (58) 115c; (62) 40b, 54b.

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[4] (ā) Name of a town, M. William's Dictionary p. 229a.

51. Ojasa, [K_4. 786]
Tīrtha under Kurukṣetra, probably same as Aujasa
(41) 6b; (90) 17a.

"AU"

52. Auśanasa, [K_4. 736a]
Tīrtha on Saraswatī, same as *Kapālamocana.*
(39) 1a, 11b; (42) 24b; (57) 91a.

"K"

53. Kaṭāha, (Name of a Dvīpa, M. Williams' Dictionary p. 243c)
One of the nine parts of Bhārata
(13) 10b; (90) 34a.

54. Kanakhala, [K_4. 762b; D. 88; P, 306; L. 89]
A mahātīrtha on the Gangaes near Haridvāra.
(4) 18b; (51) 52a; (57) 89b; (84) 38b.

55. Kanakekṣaṇam, [Prabhāvārthasahaṁ prādat kāṁcanā—]
River,
(57) 81b.

56. Kanthāya,
Tīrtha,
(90) 28b.

57. Kapālamocana, [K_4. 763b; D. 90; P_1 309]
Tīrtha.
(3) 49b; (39) 14a.

58. Kapila, [P_1. 313]
Tīrtha.
(36) 14a.

59. Kapiladhārā, [P_1. 313; K_4. 764a; D. 90; L. 317]
under Amarakaṇṭaka.
(84) 24a.

60. Kapilahrada, [K_4. 764a.]
Tīrtha in Haridvāra.
(35) 24a.

61. Karkandha, [K_4. 764a].
Tīrtha (51) 52a.

62. Karṇā,
River
(57) 82b.

63. Karatoyā, [K$_4$. 764b; D. 63; P$_1$. 320; L. 224; S. 95, 279]
River rises in Ṛkṣapāda.
(13) 26b.

64. Kalaśākhya-tīrtha, [K$_4$. 761a.]
(36) 18a.

65. Kalasvanā,
River rising from Sahyapāda,
(13) 31a.

66. Kaliṅga, [D. 85; P$_1$. 332; L. 156-9; S. 84, 137, 278]
In Madhyadeśa, (13) 36d.
In Dākṣiṇātya (13) 48a.

67. Kaśeruṇa dvīpa, [S. 5 (Kaserumat)]
(13) 10a.

68. Kaśerudeśa [P$_1$. 340.]
(90) 12a.

69. Kāñcana,
River
(83) 2b.

70. Kāñcanākṣī, [K$_4$. 762b]
River near Naimiṣa forest; one of Sapta Saraswatī r.
(37) 18a, 28b;* (62) 54a. (65) 34b.* (83) 2b.

71. Kāñcīpurī, [K$_4$. 762b; D. 88; P$_1$. 345; L. 161; S. 279]
City,
(13) 50c.

72. Kāmarūpa, [D. 87; P$_1$. 351; L. 226-8; S. 86, 273]
A mahātīrtha where Kāmakhyā resides, (84) 40b.

73. Kāmeśvara-tīrtha, [K$_4$. 762a Kāmeśwara-liṅga]
(34) 42b.

* [साऽमभ्यागता भद्रे स्नातुं पुण्यां सरस्वतीं
नैमिषे काञ्चनाक्षीन्तु विख्यातां धर्म्ममात्तरं ।]

74. Kāmyakavana, [K_4. 762a; D. 88.]
(41) 30b; (42) 1a.

75. Karūṣa [D. 95; L. 225-6; S. 33 (Kārūṣa City in Vindhyamūla, Sahabad district in Bihar)]
(13) 54a.

76. Kālañjara, [K_4. 760b; D. 84; P_1. 361-2; S. 243]
Mountain
(6) 55c; (76) 14a, 25d; (84) 27b; (90) 27a.

77. Kālindī (Yamunā) [K_4. 761a; D. 85; P_1. 367; S. 39]
A tīrtha, River, (3) 8a; (6) 30a, 31a; (13) 20b; (57) 75a; (60) 17b, 40a; (63) 68b; (64) 10b. 12a; (65) 5b. 82a; (78) 88b; (79) 1a; (89) 24b; (90) 3a.

78. Kālī [K_4. 761a; D. 84; P_1. 368]
River flows through Saharanpur district., U. P.,
(57) 79a.

79. Kāverī, [K_4. 767b; D. 97; P_1. 369-70; L. 38, 162; S. 52, 280]
A river rising in Sahya mt., South India
(13) 31a.

80. Kiṃrūpa
Tīrtha,
(36) 27a.

81. Kiṁpuruṣa, [D. 100; P. 278; S. 63, 280 (people)]
One of the Varṣas,
(13) 5b.

82. Kikarava, [S. 280 (people)]
Janapada in Vindhyamūla,
(13) 54b.

83. Kiraṇā, [K_4. 768b.]
River,
(89) 5b.

84. Kirāta, [D. 100; P_1. 379; L. 98; V_1. 157; S. 95, 280]
East of Kumāra dvīpa;
(13) 12a.
(13) 58b. (ādyān deśān parvatāśrayiṇ)

85. Kiṣkindhā, [D. 100; P_1. 380; K_4. 768b; L. 21; S. 34]
(90) 17b.

86. Kuṇḍal (eśvara) [K_4. 772b (Under Narmadā or near southern gate of Śrīparvata); S. 31 (=Kuntala), 150ff., 282)]
In Madhyadeśa
(13) 36a; 50a. (Kundana)

87. Kuṇḍina, [K_4. 772b; D. 108; P_1. 389; L. 7; S. 153 (Capital City—modern Kauṇḍinyapura or the Wardka in the Chandur Taluk; Amraoti dt., Berar).]
(84) 34b; (90) 24a.

88. Kuthaprāvaraṇa. [P_1. 390; S. 36n7 (Situated in the Himalayan region.)]
(13) 58a. (आद्यान् देशान् पर्वताश्रयिण)

89. Kubjāmr(aka), [K_4. 771; D. 105: P_1. 395]
Mahātīrtha,
(51) 51b; (79) 3b; (90) 3b.

90. Kumāra, [K_4. 772a; D. 106; P_1. 397; S. 30. 282]
(13) 11b; 59b (Kumāradvīpa), description of, 1-59.

91. Kumāradhārā [K_4. 772a; P_1. 399 (?)]
A river,
(90) 16b.

92. Kumārāda in Dākṣiṇātya,
(13) 47b.

93. Kumudvatī, [K_4. 772b; P_1. 401; S. 50]
A river rising in Vindhya.
(13) 29a.

94. Kuru [P_1. 406; L. 50; V_1. 166; S. 102, 282]
Country :
One of the Varṣas,
(13) 5a.

95. Kurukṣetra [K_4. 773a; D. 110; P_1. 406; L. 101;
V_1. 169; S. 103]
Tīrtha,
(21) 21a; (27) 12b; (32) 1b, 24b; (33) 2b, 1b, 7a, 8b, 10a, 15a, 16b; (34) 3a-5b (7 forests in-); (36) 80a; (37) 23b, 29a, 31b, 35b; (39) 2a; (41) 13a, 15a, 20a, 21a; (42) 3a; (47) 39a (48) 23a, 33b; (50) Māhātmya; (57) 51b, 53b, 93b; (62) 40a; 56a, 57b; (69) 4b; (81) 2b; (84) 1b, (89) 1b, 53c; (90) 5a. (92) 40d.

96. Kulyā, [K_4. 772a; P_1. 410; V_1 173; S. 22n 1 (People in m. Kulait region in upper Rāvī)]
River in Dākṣiṇātya,
(13) 47a.

97. Kuśa, [P. I. 412; S. 160ff.]
One of the Seven Dvīpas,
(11) 37b, 38a; (90) 42a.

98. Kuśasthala (under Mathurā) [K_4. 773a; D. 111; P_1. 414; S. 242n; 243 n.2. (*Same as* Kānyakubja city)]
Kuśasthalī? City
(13) 51a; (76) 14c.

99. Kuśūdra, [S. 21n; 282 (people)]
In Madhyadeśa,
(13) 36a.

100. Kuhū [D. 105; K_4. 772a; P_1. 419; S. 41 n. 2 (=Kābul river= Kubhā of Ṛv.), 282]
River sprung from Himālaya.
(13) 21a; (57) 80a.

101. Kurujāṅgala [D. 110; K_4. 773a; P_1. 407; L. 101; S. 21n3]
Sirhind in Punjab;
(3) 12a; (22) 42a; (23) 2b. निवासं वामनत्म्य; (33) 12a; (84) 3b, 17b; (89) 3b; (90) 48b, 17a.

102. Kurudhvaja,
City
(84) 22b.

103. Kulottaraṅka
Tīrtha
(36) 76b; (37) 4b.

104. Kṛtamālā [D. 104; K_4. 771a; P_1. 426; S. 52n 5 (=mod. Vaigai running past Madurai see *Caitanyacaritāmṛta*, ch. 9).]
River rising in Malaya (Śuktiman mt.)
(13) 32b.

105. Kṛtaśauca, [K_4. 771a; P_1. 428]
Mahātīrtha,
(90) 5b.

106. Kṛtasmara
Mountain
(13) 18b.

107. Kṛṣṇavenyā (=kṛṣṇa-veṇā) [K_4. 770b; P_1. 453; D. 104; S. 51n7 (Veṇvā=mod. Veṇā, tributary of Kṛṣṇa: combined stream of the two is known as Kṛṣṇavenā etc).]
Same as Kṛṣṇā R. (S. 281).
River rising from Sahya mountain,
(13) 30b.

108. Kṛṣṇā [K_4. 770b; D. 104; P_1. 455; S. 281, 51n7 (same as above)],
River,
(78) 7b; (81) 9b; (90) 2b.

109. Ketumāla [D. 99; P_1. 457]
One of the Varṣas,
(13) 4b.

110 Kedāra [K_4. 768a; D. 97; P_1. 458; L. 97; S. 13]
Tīrtha (origin & tīrtha māhātmya ch. 57, V.8-15)
(36) 16b, 26b; (57) 97b; (60) 10b (origin of); 11a, 16b, 17a; (79) 2b; (90) 3b.

111. Kerala [D. 98; P_1. 459; L. 163; S. 85-6, 280]
In Dākṣiṇātya,
(13) 47a

112. Kailāsa [K_4. 760a; D. 82; P_1. 464; L 87-88; S. 97 (Himalayan region to the north of Mānasasarovara), 278]
(43) 72a; (44) 3a, 21b; (58) 88c; (90) 33a.

113. Kokaṇaka
Mountain,
(13) 19a.

114. Kokāmukha [K_4. 768b; D. 101; S. 217ff]
Tīrtha,
(84) 26a.

115. Koṭītīrtha [K_4. 770a. D. 104; P_1. 465].
near Pṛthūdaka.
(36) 65b, 73a; (51) 53a; (84) 11a. 17a.

116. Kolāhala [K_4. 769a; D. 101; P_1. 467]
Mountain,
(13) 16b; (65) 108b.

117. Kośala [D. 103; P_1. 468; V_1. 190; L. 99; S, 99 (=Mahā Kośala), 281]
A country,
(13) 55a (in Vindhyamūla)]; (37) 32a (in the north; Saraswatī flows by it); (64) 19b.

118. Kaunaṭa [K_4. 766b]
Tīrtha,
(51) 53a.

119. Kaurava in Madhyadeśa [S. 280 (=Kuru country)]
(13) 36c.

120. Kauśala in [P_1. 472]
(90) 29b.

121. Kauśika in Madhyadeśa [P_1. 474; S. 280]
(13) 36b.

122. Kauśikī [K_4. 767a; D. 97; P_1. 475; S. 42,
(River = mod. Kosi) 280]
(13) 22b; (34) 7^b (वर्षाकालवहा), (36) 59^a. 5^b;
(57) 77^b; (65) 84b. 85a; (78) 5^b (tīrtha).

123. Kriyā, [K_4. 770a; P_1. 481; S. 47]
River rising from Ṛkṣavat.
(13) 25b.

124. Krauñca, [K_4. 770a; D. 104; P_1 484; V_1. 200; S. 163]
A mountain
(11) 38b; (58) 88d. 98a, 102b, 108a, 109a,
110a, 118b; (90) 43^a.

125. Kṣīroda, [P_1. 490]
(35) 7^a, 16b ; (85) 5a; (60) 58a

126. Kṣīrīkāvāsa [K_4. 771b.]
(84) 21b.

"*Kha*"

127. Khása- [D. 99; P_1. 498; S. 280 (people)]
A country,
(13) 57^b. (आद्यान देशान् पर्वताश्रयिण)

128. Kheṭaka- [D. 100 (Khaira on r. Vetravatī); P_1. 500;
S. 280]
Uttarāpathavāsin
(13) 38a.

129. Khelliśa, [S. 280]
Janapada in Vindhyamūla,
(13) 55^a

"*Ga*"

130. Gaṅgā - [K_4. 751b; D. 61; P_1. 501; L. 77, 152;
V_1. 217; S. 172ff., 273].
River; A tīrtha,
(6) 4^b; (34) 7^a; (36) 64^b; (42) 7^a.

131. Gaṅgādvāra- [K_4. 751b; D. 62; P_1. 502; L. 33; S. 273]
Tīrtha, same as Haridvāra
(37) 36a; (39) 17^b.

132. Gaṇḍakī - [K_4. 751b; D. 60; P_1. 507; L. 75; S. 42n3, 273]
Tīrtha, R. rises in Himālaya and falls into Ganges at Sonepur, Muzaffarpur dt., in Bihar.
(13) 22b; (57) 79a.

133. Gandhamādana [D. 60; K_4. 752a; P_1. 511; L. 76; S. 273]
Mountain,
(52) 19a, 21a, 43a.

134. Gabhastimat [P. I. 513; S. 5n]
One of the nine parts of Bhārata,
(13) 10a.

135. Gayā - [K_4. 752b; D. 64; P_1. 515; L. 219; S. 224ff., 274]
Tīrtha,
(33) 8a (Gayāśrāddha); (36) 50a; (37) 29b; (41) 8b; (79) 64a, 69b; (83) 4b; (90) 9b.

136. Gayā Śiras [K_4. 752b; D. 65; P_1. 517; S. 227ff, 274]
Hill named after rājarṣi Gaya,
(32) 18b; (57) 89a.

137. Garuḍāsana,
(52) 46b.

138. Gāruḍa [K_4. 753b.]
Tīrtha,
(90) 4a.

139. Girivraja [K_4. 753b; D. 66; P_1. 535; L. 44; S. 24n6 (=Girjāk or Jalālpur city on the Jhelam)]
(84) 31b; (90) 26a.

140. Gokarṇa [K_4. 753b; D. 70; P_1. 544; L. 79, 153; S. 99 (Village in the Bāgmatī in Nepāl), 274; 11 (Kanare dt. Mysore)].
Mahā tīrtha,
(81) 5b; (90) 5b, 28a.

141. Godāvarī, [K$_4$. 753b; D. 69; P$_1$. 546; L. 22. 378; S. 51n6, 274]
A river rises in Sahya mt., Western Ghat,
(13) 30b; (57) 75b; (65) 37b, 127b, 153a.

142. Gopta, [S. 274 (people)]
Janapada in Vindhyamūla,
(13) 54b.

143. Gomati [K$_4$. 754a; D. 70; P$_1$. 551; L. 80; V$_1$. 238; S. 41n3, 274]
A river
(13) 22a; (63) 61a; (83) 2b; (90) 31a.

144. Gomanta, [K$_4$. 754a; D. 70; P$_1$. 551; L. 22; S. 274]
Mountain
(13) 18b.

145. Govardhana [K$_4$. 754b; D. 72; P$_1$. 554; L. 21; S. 23n3 (near Nasik on Godāvarī river)].
A mahātīrtha, mountain
(13) 17b.

"*Gha*"

146. Ghaṭita,
(90) 33a.

"*Ca*"

147. Cakratīrtha, [K$_4$. 742a; D. 43; P$_1$. 570]
under Sarasvatī,
(7) 37b; (43) 11a; (57) 89a.

148. Cakriṇī [S. 269]
River rises in Ṛkṣapāda,
(13) 28a.

149. Caṇḍikeśvara [K$_4$. 742b.]
Tīrtha,
(51) 51b.

150. Candrikā [K$_4$. 743a; D. 47; S. 40n1]
River Candrabhāgā = m. Chenab
(12) 21a.

151. Campaka [K_4. 742b. (araṇya, tīrtha or varṣa;), D. 43; P_1. 589]
W-N of Jambudvīpa
(13) 4^b.

152. Campā [K_4. 742; D. 43-44; P_1. 589-590; L. 32, 44, 214; S. 27n5, 83 (city)]
(84) 12b.

153. Carmaṇvatī [K_4. 743^a; D. 48; P_1. 592; L. 312]
Modern Chambal tributary of Jumna (S. 46n2).
River rises in Pārijātra,
(13) 24^b.

154. Cītrakūṭa [K_4. 744^a; P_1. 601; L. 20, 73, 313-4; D. 50; S. 270]
Hill, 65 miles S-W, of Prayāga, Banda Dist.
(13) 18b; (52) 47^b.

155. Citrakuṭā [K_4. 744^a; D. 50; S. 47n5 (either the same as Mandākin or a part of it)]
R. rising from Ṛkṣaparvata,
(13) 26a.

156. Citrā [P_1. 608; S. 270]
River rises in Himālaya (13) 22b.
River rises in Pariyātra (13) 25^a.

157. Citrotpalā [K_4. 744^a; D. 50; S. 43n1 (R. Mahānadī below its junction with the Pyri or its branch)].
River rising from Ṛkṣapāda
(13) 26b.

158. Cauḍa,
In Dākṣiṇātya,
(13) 47^a.

"*JA*"

159. Janma [P_1. 627 (Janmeśvaram, M. 22.42)]
Tīrtha
(36) 28b, 39^a.

160. Jambu Dvīpa [D. 80; P_1. 629; L. 9; S. 8, 9, 277]
(11) 33^b, 41^a; (13) 1b, 2a; (90) 42^a.

161. Jambū nadī [K_4. 759^a; P_1. 630; S. 277]
(18) 33^b.

162. Jayanta [K_4. 759^a; P_1. 635]
Tīrtha,
(51) 51b.

163. Jānuka, [S. 277]
In Dākṣiṇātya
(13) 47^b.

164. Jyeṣṭhāśrama
Tīrtha,
(36) 69a.

"TA"

165. Takṣaka
Tīrtha,
(51) 53a.

166. Taṅgaṇa [D. 204; P_2. 2; S. 26n9 (=Upper Vitastā Valley, Hq. at Ṭaṅgaṇāpura, near Johimath, Garhwal dt. U. P), 299].
(13) 57^b (आद्यान् देशान् पर्वतान्ऋषिणा)

167. Tamasā [K_4. 812a; D. 202; P_2. 10; L. 131; S. 47n7 =Modern Tons), 298]
River rising from Ṛkṣpāda
(13) 26b; (57) 75^b.

168. Tala,
(90) 37a.

169. Tāpī [K_4. 812b; D. 204; P_2. 13; L. 36, 330; S. 50n2. 299]
A river (=mod. Tapti) rising from Vindhya,
(13) 28b.

170. Tāmraparṇa [P_2. 16]
Island,
(13) 10a.

171. Tāmraparṇī [K_4. 812a; D. 203; P_2. 16; L. 192; S. 52, 299 *Mod.* Tāmravarī joins Chittur in Tiruveli dt., Madras, (S. 52n5).]
A river rises in Śuktimat,
(13) 32b.

172. Tāmralipta [D. 203; P_2. 17; L. 263; S. 298 (same as Tāmralipti)]
in the East.
(13) 46a

173. Tīrthanemi,
(57) 93a

174. Tuṅgaprastha, [P_2. 28]
Mountain
(13) 17b.

175. Tuṇḍikera [P_2. 28; S. 35]
Janapada in Vindhyamūla,
(13) 56a.

176. Tumbara [D. 207 (Tumbura); P_2. 29 (Tumburā); S. 300]
Janapada in Vindhyamūla
(13) 55b.

177. Turaga [S. 300 (people)]
Janapada in Vindhyamūla,
(13) 55b.

178. Turaṣka [D. 207]
A country in the north of Bhārata
(13) 12b.

179. Tomara [D. 205; P_2. 37; S. 299 (Country)]
(13) 58b. (आद्यान् देशान् पर्वताशयिण)

180. Toyā [K_4. 812b; P_2. 37; S. 299]
A river rising in Vindhya
(13) 29b.

181. Tośala [K_4. 812b; D. 205 (Tosali); P_2. 37; L. 195; S. 34n4;]

Dt. round the city of Tośālī (mod. Dhauli, Puri dt.)
Janapada in Vindhyamūla
(13) 55a.

182. Trikūṭa [D. 205; P_2. 42 ; S. 189]
Hill,
(52) 47b; (84) 42b; (85) 4a ff. (Description);
(90) 24a.

183. Trigarta [D. 205; P_2. 43; L. 131; S. 37n1 (=Mod. Jalandhar region)]
A country in the N. E. of Bhārata
(13) 58b. (आद्यान् देशान् पर्वताश्रयिण)

184. Tridivā [K_4. 813a; P_2. 44; S. 299]
River rising from Ṛkṣavat,
(13) 27b.

185. Triviṣṭapa [K_4. 814a.]
Tīrtha,
(36) 43a; (51) 52b; (90) 32a.

186. Traipura [K_4. 813b; D. 205 (=Tripura); P_2. 54; 534n5 (people of Tripura or Tripurī)]
Janapada in Vindhyamūla
(13) 55a.

"D"

187. Dakṣatīrtha [K_4. 744b]
under Kurukṣetra
(46) 2a

188. Daṇḍaka (same as Daṇḍakāraṇya in Dākṣiṇātya) [K_4. 745a; D. 52; P_2. 65; L. 41; S. 271]
(13) 49a.

189 Daṇḍakāraṇya [K_4. 745a; D. 52; P_2. 65; L. 41, 280; S. 30N6]
Country,
(18) 28c, 34c; (39) 5a; (84) 43d; (90) 26b.

190. Daśārṇā [K_4. 745b; D. 54; P_2. 79; L. 314, 336; S. 47N4] (=mod. Dhasan)

River rising in mt. Ṛkṣa,
(13) 26a.

191. Daśāśvamedhika, [K_4. 745^{b}; P_2. 79]
Tīrtha
(35) 49^{a}.

192. Dākṣiṇātya, [P_2. 81; S. 271 (same as Daksināpatha)]
Countries in,
(13) 47-50.

193. Dāruvana [K_4. 745^{a} (same as Devadāru Vana); D. 53; P_2. 84]
(84) 32^{c}.

194. Dāsārṇa [K_4. 745^{b}; D. 54; L. 314; S. 150ff., 91 (Eastern Malwa)]
Country in Vindhyamūla,
(13) 54^{b}.

195. Dugdhodā [S. 53 N3]
River rising in Sahya mountain
(13) 31b.

196. Durgandhā [S. 51 n2]
River rising in 'Vindhyapāda'
(13) 29b,

197. Durgā tīrtha [K_4. 748^{b}; S. 31n7 (tributary of Sābarmatī), 51N2]
under Saraswatī
(42) 15^{b}.

198. Durdhara [D. 58 (Durdhura); P_2. 102]
Mountain
(13) 16b.

199. Dṛḍaśṛṅga
Mountain
(52) 47^{a}.

200. Dṛṣadvatī [K_4. 748^{a}; D. 57; P_2. 110; L. 75; S. 41n4]
River,
(13) 22a; (33) 9^{a}; (34) 8a (वर्षकालवहा); (36) 48a, 59^{a}.

201. Devadāruvana [K_4. 745, b; D. 54 (same as Dāruvana); P_2. 117]
(44) 34b.

202. Devahrada [K_4. 746a; P_2. 130]
(81) 14a.

203. Devikā [K_4. 746b; D. 55; P_2. 134; L. 74; S 41 n2 (=m. Deeg, tributary of Rāvī)]
River
(71) 5a; (78) 35a, 52a; (84) 7a, 12b; (90) 30b.

204. Devikā Devī. [P_2. 134]
(89) 7a.

205. Devī,
Tīrtha,
(35) 34b; (57) 96b.

206. Dviradapāvana tīrtha,
(57) 94b.

207. Dvaitavana [K_4. 748b; D. 58; L. 75]
(47) 56a.

"*Dha*"

208. Dharmāraṇya [K. 747 a (under Gayā); D. 56; P_2. 166]
(84) 12.

209. Dhātakī [S. 271]
River
(13) 21b.

210. Dhṛtapāpā }
Dhūtapāpā } [K_4. 748a; D. 57; P_2. 174; S. 272]
A river. Tributary of the Ganges in Benaras region (S. 41n3)
(13) 22a; (57) 82b (Dhṛtapapa)

"*NA*"

211. Nakulagaṇa [K_4. 783b.]
under Kurukṣetra—tīrtha
(46) 2b.

212. Nadvāla [Irāvatī=nadvalā—Saṅgam, K_4. 758a.]
(79) 51b.

213. Nandinī [K$_4$. 784a; P$_2$. 200; S. 287]
River rising in Pāriyātra,
(13) 24a.

215. Navarāṣṭra [P$_2$. 215; D. 139; S. 288]
Country
(90) 30a.

216. Narmadā [K$_4$. 785a; D. 138; P$_2$. 210; L. 36, 305. 323; S. 288]
A tīrtha, (7) 26d; (84) 24b; (90) 18b.
A river rises in 'Ṛkṣapada, (13) 25b; (42) 7b; (57) 75a.

217. Nalinī [K$_4$. 784; D. 137; P$_2$. 213; S. 288]
A river rises in 'Sahyapāda'
(13) 31b.

218. Nāgagiri [K$_4$. 783a; P$_2$. 217]
A hill under Gayā,
(13) 17b.

219. Nāgatīrtha [K$_4$. 783a; P$_2$. 219]
(57) 93b.

220. Nāgadvīpa [P$_2$. 219; S. 288]
(13) 10b.

221. Nāgahradatīrtha [D. 134]
(32) 24a; (36) 41.

222. Nisvarā
River
(13) 22b.

223. Nirāhāra [D. 141; P$_2$. 245; S. 288 (people)]
(13) 57b (आयान् देशन् पर्वताश्रयिण)

224. Nirvindhyā [K$_4$. 786a; D. 141; P$_2$. 249; S. 50n2, 288]
River (mod. Newuj, tributary of Chambal) rising in Vindhya and falling into Chambal
(13) 28b.

225. Niṣadha [K_4. 786a; D. 141; L. 325; P_2. 252; S. 288]
(13) 55a (Janapada in Vindhyamūla); (90) 13a.

226. Niṣadhā [K_4. 786b; P_2. 252; S. 288 (*also* Niṣadhāvatī)]
River rising in Vindhya
(13) 28b.

227. Nīla [K_4. 786a; P_2. 252]
Tīrtha
(84) 28a.

228. Nīlā [K_4 786a. (Nīlotpalā); P_2. 259; S. 288]
River
(13) 21a.

229. Naimika [S. 287 (people)]
in Dākṣiṇātya
(23) 50a.

230. Naimiṣa [K_4. 783a; D. 135; P_2. 265; L. 41, 113; V_1. 460; S. 28]
Tīrtha
(3) 10a; (7) 37a, 38b, 39a, 41b; (8) 29b; (37) 8a. 24a, 28b, (39) 27a; (42) 3a; (63) 40b; (65) 34b, 75a; (83) 1b 3b. (between Gomati & Kāñcananadī); (84) 11b; (90) 9a.

SIBADAS CHAUDHURI

[*To be continued*]

MISCELLANY

Kharparas mentioned in the Nābhinandana-Jīnoddhāra-Prabandha

(*A Reply*)

Criticising my identification of the Kharparas mentioned in the *Nābhinandana-jinoddhāra-prabandha* with the Mongols, Dr. Sant Lal Katare writes as follows in the *IHQ.*, XXXVII, 81-2:—

"In spite of the mention of the Kharparikas in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta and the Kharparas in three Batihagarh inscriptions, one dated in V. S. 1385, another probably also of the same date and third 'without any date', it is not understood why Dr. Sharma should have identified them with the Mongols, who are also said to have carried raids into the dominions of Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī. Dr. Sharma has given no grounds for this identification.........Two of these Batihagarh inscriptions refer to Sultan Mahmūd of Yoginīpura, who may be identified with Muhammad bin Tughluq.........This disproves Dr. Sharma's identification of the Kharparas with Mongols."

Dr. Katare has been, I fear, a little hasty in writing his note. If he refers to footnote 7 of the paper he has criticised, he would find it stated that the arguments regarding the identification of the Kharparas with Mongols have been put in a paper to be published in the *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress,* 1954. He could easily have consulted the paper.

As to Dr. Katare's own arguments, let me point out that there is nothing in Samudragupta's Allahabad Pillar Inscription to indicate that the Kharparikas were in the Damoh district in the fourth century A.D. I cannot see any reason why Muhammad bin Tughluq's being on the throne of Delhi in 1328 A.D. disproves my view. There were Mongols in India before his reign and during his reign too; and once, probably in 1327 or 1328 A.D., the Mongols reached almost the gates of Delhi under the leadership of Tarmashirin of Transoxiana.[1]

Dr. Katare would have us believe that the Kharparas were a warlike people of Madhya Pradesh who roamed about in the dominions of Alāuddīn Khaljī under the leadership of Vāghadeva Pratihāra. But while coming to this conclusion, he should have at least kept in view all the known references to the Kharparas. If he goes to the *Hammīramadamardana* he will find a Khappara Khāna whose intervention made Milacchrīkāra retire hastily to his own dominions. The Kharpara Khāna obviously was a very strong non-Indian chief, may be either Cangez Khān or Jalāluddīn Manghbarnī. The *Hammīramahākāvya* of Nayacandra Sūri speaks of Vāgbhaṭa Cāhamāna's attack on Raṇthambhor while his enemy, the Sultaṇ of Delhi, was being pressed hard on the other side by the Kharparas.[2] We do not find from any Muslim history that the existence of the Sultanate of Delhi was ever threatened by the incursion of a predatory tribe from Madhya Pradesh. But it is well-known that the Mongols were all along a constant danger, and their incursions influenced both the internal and foreign policies of the Sultāns of Delhi.[3] Elsewhere in the *Hammīramahākāvya*, we have a description of the *Ghaṭaika-deśiya* warriors in the battle between Muhammad Ghorī and Pṛthvīrāja III.[4] *Ghaṭaika-deśa* seems to stand for Kharpara or Karpara (a potsherd).

Ḍiṅgal literature also throws interesting light on the meaning of Kharpara. As Śaka in later Sanskrit becomes synonymous with Muslim, so does the word Kharpara in Ḍiṅgal. The author of the *Nābhinandana-Jinoddhāra-prabandha* who belonged to the Ḍiṅgal area can be presumed to have been familiar with this usage. A few illustrations from *Chand Rāu Jetsī ro* (1537 A.D.) would perhaps suffice[5]: —

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[1] *Tārikh-i-Mubārakshāhī*, 103. [2] IV. 10).

[3] See Dr Habibullah's *Foundation of Muslim Rule in India*, Chapter IX.

[4] III. 28.

1. *Khurasāṇi Khāphara Kheḍa khatti*
   pārambha kiyau utarādha patti//143//
2. *Khāpharāṁ khaḍaga vāhaṇa sakhudda*
   riṇi Kisana chaḍiya bhāṁjaṇa Raudda//306//
3. *Khāpharāṁ Jaita vāhai khaḍagga*
   Vāsade jāṇi vanne vilagga//381//
4. *Vīkāhara rāja Īṁda vaggi*
   Khāpharāṁ sire khiviyā khaḍaggi//389//

In all these illustrations, the word Khāphara has been used for the host commanded by the Mughal Prince, Kāmrān, and in verse 143 they have been specified also as Khurāsāṇīs. We can easily have other illustrations of the use of the word from early Ḍingal literature.[6]

Let Dr. Katare also give some solid evidence to prove the truth of his view. It is no use relying on mere conjecture and saying that Vāghadeva Pratihāra must have led the Kharparas, whom he regards as a people of Madhya Pradesh, in an attack on Alāuddīn Khaljī's dominions. Vāghadeva might have come into conflict with the Khaljī's, though this too is not very certain. But where is the evidence that would make him a leader of the Kharparas? He himself was not a Kharpara; and Dr. Katare has first to prove the existence in Madhya Pradesh of an indigenous tribe called Kharpara before he can make even a Pratihāra chief the leader of their forays.

The only evidence that he can perhaps think of putting forward in support of his contention are the three Batihagarh inscriptions, in two of which one Malik Julachi is mentioned as "*Yoddhā Kharpara sainyānām*," an expression about the exact import of which I have not been very sure. Two alternative meanings can be given; there cannot be a third. It might mean that Malik Julachi fought against the Kharparas or Mongols when they invaded India in 1328 A.D. or so and was rewarded for his services by being appointed as Governor of the Cedi area. In this case one has to equate *Yoddhā Kharpara-sainyānām*" with "yoddhā *Kharparasainyān*" and regard it as an instance of the Pāṇinean rule, *Kartṛkarmaṇo kṛti* (2.3.65).[7] Or taking it in the usual sense of "a warrior of the Kharpara hosts", we might regard him as a Mongol convert to Islām, appointed to a difficult post in the Cedi country. To make him the leader of an indigenous tribe, against the usual meaning that the word Kharpara has, needs more substantial evidence than the mere mention of Julachi as a Kharpara general stationed at Damoh. If we had, for instance, any inscription from Bengal for Akbar's famous general, Mān Singh, he could have been rightly described as "*yoddhā Kacchapa-sainyānāṁ*", without the Kachawālās being a people of Bengal. Under the Sultanate too, the Governors, more often than not, came from areas different from those they governed, and we cannot on the basis of their tribe or clan say that the clan or tribe must have belonged to that area. If Dr. Katare has any other evidence to disprove the identification of the Kharparas with the Mongols, we shall be glad to have it.[8]

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[5] *Bibliotheca Indica*, No. 1430.

[6] For relevant extracts from another Ḍingal work, *Rāva Jaitsī ro Rāso*, see the *Marubhāratī*, VI, 3, 77.

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[7] For the use of *yudh* with *karma*, see the following quotation from Madhusūdana Sarasvatī's commentary on the *Bhagavad-gitā*:—

> *eko daśa-sahasrāṇi yodhayed yastu dhanvinām/*
> *Śastra-śāstra-pravīṇaścha mahāratha iti smṛtaḥ//*
> *Amitān yodhayed yastu samprokto' tirathastu saḥ/*
> *Rathas tvekena yo yoddhā tannyūno' rdharathaḥ smṛtaḥ//*
>
> (I. 4-6)

DASHARATHA SHARMA

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8 Dr. Katare may also keep in view the fact that Kakka Sūri recounts all the great achievements of Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī, the capture of the ruler of Devagiri, slaying of Hammīra, the lord of Sapādalakṣa, capture of the lord of Chitor, defeat of Karṇa of Gujarāt, conquest of Malwa, subjection of the Kārnāta, Pāṇḍya and Tilinga rulers, and the decisive defeat of the Kharparas. As none, who has anything substantial to say about Alāuddīn's achievements, fails to include the defeat of the Mongols among them, why should not Dr Katare give Kharpara the sense of Mongol which it has in Sanskrit as well as non Sanskrit literature and which it might be noted, was familiar in the area to which Kakka Sūri belonged?

The name of the Mahāmātya in the inscription of Tejasiṃha, dated V. 1317

Dr R. C. Agrawala has published the transcript of a newly discovered inscription of Mahārānā (Mahārāval ?) Tejasiṁha of Mewār. It is dated Sunday, the fifth of the dark half of Śrāvaṇa, V. 1317, and in its third line names the *Mahāmātya* as Mahaṁ., Prasenadhara. But the colophon of a manuscript, now deposited in the Pāṭan Bhaṇḍār and copied at Āghāṭa in that very year 1317 on Sunday, the fourth of the bright half of Māgha, *i.e.*, six months and a half after the incision of the epigraph reads as follows:

> *Saṃvat 1317 varṣe Māha-sudi 4 Āditya-dine Śrīmad-Āghāṭa-durge Mahārājādhirāja-parameśvara-paramabhaṭṭāraka-Umāpati-vara - labdha - prauḍha - pratāpa - samalaṁkṛta-śrī-Tejasiṁhadeva-kalyāṇa vijaya-rājye tat-pāda-padmopajīvini Mahāmātya-śri-Samuddhare mudrāvyāparān paripaṁthayati śrīmad-Āghāṭa-vāstavya paṁ. Rāmachaṁdra-śiṣyeṇa Kamalachaṁdreṇa pustikā vyalekhi//*[1]

Here the name of the *Mahāmātya* is given as Śrī-Samuddara. Considering the short interval between the two records, is it not likely that the name in the inscription also might be Śrī-Samuddhara; and the initial mistake made in deciphering the epigraph might have been in reading *Śrī* as *Pra*, their shapes not being very dissimilar, and then *samu* as *sena*. *Dhara* can easily be read as *ddhara*. Let Dr Agrawala re-examine the epigraph. If he finds the reading to be clearly Prasenadhara, and not Śrī-Samuddhara as we think it might be, we have to assume that Śrī-Samuddhara had died within the interval, Śrāvaṇa Śukla to Māgha Kṛṣṇa, and was succeeded in the post probably by a son named Prasenadhara.

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[1] *Jaina-pustaka-praśasti-saṁgraha*, Part 1 (Singhī Jaina Granthamala), p. 126.

Moustaches—a rare device in early Indian Viṣṇu and Śiva Images

The depiction of Buddhist divinities having moustaches is a well known feature of the Gandhāra sculptures. In Brahmanical icons both Brahmā and Agni are frequently shown with a prominent beard. This is of course unusual in case of Viṣṇu and Śiva sculptures and it is therefore proposed to refer to a few such icons for scrutiny by scholars and art critics. *It appears that the device of presenting Viṣṇu and Śiva with moustaches was probably incorporated due to the influence of foreign art in India.* A Kuṣāṇa *Ardhanārīśvara* in Victoria and Albert Museum at London (nos. IM-5-1931; from Mathurā) presents Śiva half with prominent moustaches. Similarly, we find this device on the face of Govardhanadhārī Kṛṣṇa[1] in the early Gupta terracotta relief from Raṅgmahal and now preserved in Bikaner Museum (*Lalitakalā*, no. 8, pl. xxi, fig 1; R. C. Agrawala's paper in *Journal of Indian History*, Trivendrum, Dec. 1960, plate 1). The influence of Gandhāra art is quite evident in the Bikaner terracottas datable to the 3rd century A.D.

A post-Gupta *Śiva-liṅga*[2] in Mathura Museum (no. 462) also presents Śiva with moustaches (J. N. Banerjea, *Journal of Indian Society of Oriental Art*, III (i), June 1935, plate VII, fig 3) as also in one faced *Śiva-liṅga* (no. H 2) from Lucknow Museum (*ibid*, pl. VII, fig 2) and collosal late-Gupta Śiva head from Mathurā and now in the collection of the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford (cf. Fig 2 on page 53 of the *Bulletin of Rijsk Museum of Asiatic Art at Amsterdam*, Holland, No. 31, October 1950).

The Museum Volkerkunde at West Berlin has recently purchased an early bronze from Kashmir wherein the human face of three-faced Viṣṇu bears prominent moustaches (H. Hartel, *Indische Skulpturen, Indologen Tagung*, 1959, Gottingen, figures 50-51 and 53). Not only this, even the *cakra-puruṣa*, appearing to the left of Viṣṇu below in this elegant Berlin-bronze, has got moustaches likewise (*ibid*, fig. 58), a fact which bears close resemblance with identical device in another contemporary *cakra-puruṣa* in Royal Ontario Museum at Toronto (*ibid*, fig. 59; Sherman Lee's note in the *Bulletin of the Division of Art and Archaeology of the Toronto Museum*, Dec. 1256, no. 24, pp-23-6, plate 9). The well known Trimūrti from Elephanta also presents one of the faces with moustaches in a vivid manner (K.M. Munshi, *Saga of Indian Sculpture*, 1957, Bombay, plate 18). The extant stone sculptures of multi-faced Viṣṇu of course present the depiction of moustaches on the 4th back face; cf. 5000 *Years' Art from India*, 1959, Essen-Germany, Vol. ii, no. 188 on page 382.

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[1] Also in the *Dāna Līlā* plaque in the same collection.

[2] *JUPHS*., Old Series, Lucknow, XXII, 1949. p. 129.

R. C. AGRAWALA

A Note on the Brahmadattas of Kāśi

Kāśi finds a significant place as a political division in Northern India shortly before the time of the Buddha. It was an independent kingdom before the rise of Buddhism, and, as such it finds mention in no less than four places in the *Aṅguttaranikāya* in the list of the Soḷasa Mahā-Janapadas, i.e., the sixteen great countries. The fact that Kāsi and Kośala are frequently mentioned in the Jātakas in the Paccuppannavatti only and not in the stories draws our attention towards the study of its political history and the dynasties that ruled and governed over its destiny. In the sixth century B.C. Indian territories were split up into numerous independent but tiny states, which, according to the Purāṇas were ruled by the kings of different dynasties, such as Aikṣvākas or kings of Kośala, Pāñcālas, Kāseyas, Asmakas, Kurus, Maithilas and so forth.[1] However, the most important of these dynasties was that of the Brahmadatta reigning at Vārāṇasi and ruling over Kāśiraṭṭha. In the Jātakas, we hear of many Brahmadattas "and are more often than not useless for historical purpose." The ruling family of Kāśi also seems to have been called Brahmadatta after this king.[2] Thus, in the Jātakas every prince who was heir-apparent to the throne of Vārāṇasi was styled Brahmadatta-kumāra. The *Matsyapurāṇa*[3] also refers to a dynasty consisting of one hundred Brahmadattas.

The Jātakas,[4] which are the main source of information regarding the history of this kingdom mention no less than six kings of Vārāṇasi, besides Brahmadatta. They are Uggasena,

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[1] Pargiter, 23-4.

[2] *Carmichæl Lectures*, D. R. Bhandarkar, 1918. Calcutta, p. 56.

[3] *Anandasrama Sanskrit Series*, Poona, p. 556, V. 72.

[4] Jātaka, IV. 458-13; iii. 97. 23; I. 262. 8; V. 354. 9; ii. 345, 19; iv. 104-22 and 25.

Dhanañjaya, Mahāsīlava, Saṁyama, Vissasena and Udayabhadda. In the Purāṇas,[5] Brahmadatta is represented to have been followed in succession by Yogasena, Vishvaksena, Udakasena and Bhallāṭa.

The tradition of the Brahmadattas seems to be very popular and of great antiquity as well. In the Jātaka commentary this is given as the name of numerous kings of Benares. In most cases the Jātakas reveal nothing more of them than that they reigned at Benares at the time of the incidents related in the story. There is every reason to believe that Brahmadatta was possibly the dynastic name of the kings of Benares. In the Gaṅgamāla Jātaka,[6] Udaya, king of Benares, is, for example addressed as Brahmadatta. Similarly, in the Gaṇḍatindu Jātaka,[7] Pāñcāla, King of Uttarapañcāla, is also called Brahmadatta; though, in this case it was evidently his personal name. Another instance of the general popularity of the epithet, 'Brahmadatta', is to be found in the Dīpavaṃsa[8] and the Mahāvaṃsa Ṭīkā,[9] where Brahmadatta is represented as the head of a dynasty of thirty-six kings, all of whom ruled at Matthipura. His ancestors ruled at Kapilanagara. It may, however, be recalled here that there are at least fourteen references to Brahmadatta-kumāras in the Jātaka stories all of whom individually correspond to the son of Brahmadatta, king of Benares.[10] It is therefore quite reasonable to suggest that "many of the princes belonging to these groups had the cognomen, 'Brahmadatta'. That Brahmadatta was not the name of one individual ruler, has been suggested by Mr. Hārkṛṣṇa Dev. This succession has been accepted by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar.[11] The domination of Kāśi kingdom by several monarchs belonging not to one and the same family or dynasty is of considerable importance in making an account of the political destiny of this kingdom. In the Jātakas there are frequent references to the failure of heirs at Benares (apputtakaṁ rājakulam), or the deposition of princes in favour of more competent rulers taken from other families. This is the reason why the Kāśi monarchs are not regarded by the tradition as belonging to one and the same dynasty. For example, some of the kings hailed from Magadha[12]; others were probably of Videhan origin. Besides, there are references to a group of one hundred Brahmadattas in the *Matsya* and *Vāyupurāṇas.*[13] The *Mahābhārata* also mentions a group of "hundred" Brahmadattas.[14] In the Jātakas, the name is borne both by the reigning king and his son (kumāra).[15] The reference to King Udaya of Benares in the Gaṅgamāla Jātaka being addressed by a Pachceka Buddha as "Brahmadatta" shows that it is distinctly stated to be a kulanāma or family designation.

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[5] *Vāyupurāṇa*, p. 376, Vs. 180-2; *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, pt. iv. cap. 19.

[6] Jātaka, iii. 452.

[7] ib. p. 444.

[8] Ed. by Oldenberg (Williams and Norgate), iii. 18.

[9] (P. T. S.), 127.

[10] Jātaka, i. 259 ff; ii. 2 ff; ii. 229ff; iii-158ff; ii. 277 ff; iii. 391 ff; iii. 407ff; iii-514 ff; iv. 315ff; v. 263ff; v. 457 ff; vi, 159ff.

The problem that remains to be solved as yet is whether the Brahmadattas were all of the same extraction? The data available would, however, serve to suggest that they belonged not to the same extraction. In the Darīmukha Jātaka, the king-elect was originally a Magadhan prince. Some of the other Brahmadattas were of Videhan lineage. The Matiposaka Jātaka,[16] for instance, referring to a Brahmadatta of Kāśi, has the following line:

Mutto'mhi Kāśirājena Vedehana Yasassinā ti.

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[11] *Carmichael Lectures*, 1918, p. 56.

[12] Cf. Jātakas, 378, 401, 529.

[13] Matsya, ch. 273. 71; Vāyu, ch. 99. 454.

[14] II. 8. 23.

[15] Cf. Susīma Jātaka (411), the Kumma Sapiṇḍa Jātaka (425), the Lomas Kassapa Jātaka (433), etc.

[16] Jātka No. 455.

Similarly, in the Sambula Jātaka[17] prince Sotthisena, son of Brahmaddata, king of Kāśi, is called Vedehaputta :

> Yo putto Kāśirajassa Sotthiseno ti taṃ vidū
> tassāhaṃ Sambula bhariyā, evaṁ jānahi dānava,
> Vedehaputto bhaddan te vane vasati āturo.

Ajātasatru, who was a contemporary of Janaka on the throne of Kāśi, may have been a Brahmadatta though his exact lineage is not known.[18] The Upaniṣadic evidence shows that he was a contemporary of Uddālaka. According to the Uddālaka Jātaka, the reigning king of Benares in the time of Uddālaka was Brahmadatta.[19] It seems that 'Brahmaddatta' was a title which was frequently used with pride particularly by the rulers of Kāśi. But it should not be taken to represent any definite dynasty or family to which these rulers belonged. Kings with the designation also figure as rulers of other kingdoms. It is well known to us that about the middle of the sixth century B. C. Bimbisāra Śreṇika, the crown prince of Magadha, is said to have killed Brahmadatta, the last independent ruler of ancient Aṅga, and took Champā, the capital city, and resided there as his father's Viceroy.[20] In the *Mahāgovinda Suttanta*, Brahmadatta is mentioned as the king of the Assakas, and as a contemporary of Sattabhu, king of Kaliṅga, Vessabhu, king of Avanti, Bharata, king of Sovīra, Reṇu, king of Videha, Dhataraṭṭha, king of Aṅga and Dhataraṭṭha, king of Kāśi.[21]

In the *Mahā-Ummagga Jātaka*,[22] the Uttarādhyayana Sūtra,[23] the *Svapna-vāsavadattā*[24] and the *Rāmāyaṇa*,[25] we hear of king named Chulani Brahmadatta who was a great Pāñcāla king. The Jātaka tells us that Kevattā, the minister of Brahmadatta formed a plan for making Chulani chief king of all India. In the story, the king himself is represented as having laid siege to Mithilā. The *Uttarādhyayana* represents him as a universal monarch. These accounts are so much full of myths that one can hardly place any reliance upon them and the historicity of these events. The relevant point to be noted here is that the epithet Brahmadatta was so popular that even in the 5th century A. D. we hear of a Viceroy of Budha Gupta as Brahmadatta.[26]

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[17] ib. no. 519.

[18] Ray Chaudhury, *Pol. Hist. of A. I.*, pp. 76-77. Fifth Ed.

[19] ib. p. 77.

[20] Hardy, *A Manual of Buddhism*, p. 163 n. (account based on the Tibetan Dulva), *J.A.S.B.*, 1914; p. 321.

[21] *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Part II, p. 27.

[22] No. 546.

[23] S. B. E., XIV. 57-61.

[24] Act V.

[25] I. 32.

Apart from the facts noted above regarding the Brahmadattas one cannot fail to mention here the traditional accounts of the praiseworthy exploits of the Brhmadattas of Kāśi. Before the final absorption of Kāśi by Kosalan imperialism in the sixth and fifth centuries B. C., it figures as an imperial kingdom. In the Mahāvagga[27] and the Kosambī Jātaka[28] we are told that Brahmadatta, king of Kāśi, robbed Dīghati, king of Kośala, of his realm, and put him to death. Similar account is also found in the *Vinaya Piṭaka*[29] and *Dhammapadaṭṭakathā*.[30] In the Kunāla Jātaka[6] we are told that Brahmadatta, king of Kāśi, owing to his having an army, seized the country of Kośala, slew its king, and carried off his chief queen to Benares, and there made her his consort. In the *Suttanipāta* commentary,[6] we hear of Brahmadatta, son of the king of Benares, ruling over twenty thousand cities with Benares as the capital.

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[26] See Pāhāḍpur plate of A. D. 478-79 (Mod. Rev., 1931, 150, *Ep. Ind.* XX, 59 ff.)

[27] S. B. E., XVII. pp. 294-99.

[28] No. 428.

[29] i. 342 ff.

[30] i. 56. f. (P. T. S.)

[31] No. 536.

[32] i. 58 ff. (P. T. S.)

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named Chelu[illegible] Brahmadatta who [illegible]. The [illegible] tells [illegible], the [illegible]. [illegible] Chelan [illegible] king [illegible] represented as [illegible]. The [illegible] represents [illegible] universal monarch. [illegible] tale of [illegible]. [illegible] that [illegible] Brahmadatta [illegible] the [illegible] Brahmadatta.

Apart from the facts noted above regarding the Brahmadatta [illegible] one cannot fail to [illegible] of the [illegible] of [illegible] Kosalan [illegible] and [illegible] to the [illegible] and [illegible] Kosala, of his realm, and put him to death. [illegible] Pali [illegible] Brahmadatta [illegible] king, [illegible] chief queen [illegible] Brahmadatta, son of the king of [illegible] with [illegible] the [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] A. D. [illegible]

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A Few Opinions

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